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TEUTONIC ANTIQUITIES IN ANDREAS AND ELENE.

PRESSENTED
TO THE PHILOSOPHICAL FACULTY
OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF LEIPZIG
FOR THE ACQUISITION
OF THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
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CHARLES WILLIAM KENT.

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DEDICATED

TO HIS FORMER TEACHER

PROF. DR. ARTHUR NAPIER,

MERTON PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH AT OXFORD,

AS A SLIGHT TOKEN

OF THE HIGH ESTEEM AND FRIENDLY REGARD

OF THE

AUTHOR.

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Introduction.

Without attempting to hold the scales of even justice between the painstaking and laborious theses of Fritzsche (Das angelsächsische Gedicht Andreas und Cynewulf) and of Ramhorst (Das ae. Gedicht vom heiligen Andreas und der Dichter Cynewulf) as to the question of authorship of Andreas, or considering the bold, and in my opinion unsuccessful, attempt of Sarrazin (Beowulf und Kynewulf. Anglia IX, 3.) to compress a large portion of the literature of the first period of English poetry into the narrow compass of one life-time and make it the product of a single genius, I intend to make but one assumption, and that will probably excite no comment, that Andreas and Elene belong to the same period of our literature. With this assumption I desire to follow the path which Grimm opened in his preface to Andreas and Elene (Andreas und Elene. Herausgegeben von Jacob Grimm, 1849), in order to gather some additional facts to group with those noted by him and thus to form a picture, however incomplete, of the customs and manners of the Teutonic inhabitants of England. I take it that one of the most important objects of philological work is to enable us to form a picture of the people, to gain an insight into their characters and modes of thought, in order to have a more perfect basis than the mere record of events can give, for a study of the philosophy of the people's growth and development. The literature of a people is perhaps the truest exponent of that people's character and culture, and the careful reader will cautiously read the thoughts and conceptions and life of a people between lines conveying a story of some more remote nature.

First of all, it is the religious conceptions that are of special interest, forming, as they do, the web and woof of life, and permeating all classes of society, so as to form of a heterogeneous complex, in this respect a homogeneous unit. The poems that are to be discussed treat of themes drawn from a new religion which had gained easy access and found almost universal acceptance, but had not been able to eradicate the mythological conceptions that had intertwined their roots with the very fibres of the Teutonic nature, and was even the less powerful to erase from the current language words and expressions born of other beliefs nurtured by constant use and which prevail to some extent today — a monument to the tenacity with which a word, coined by necessity, clings to the currency it has with difficulty gained.

First of all then, I propose to examine these poems, Christian in conception, teaching and purpose, for traces of mythology.

§ 1. Mythology.

It will be impossible to gather here *all* the hints of mythological nature, because some of these have no existence apart from the connection in which they occur, and hence will be mentioned in their proper context. But there are references direct or indirect partaking of natures varying from a probability akin to certainty to a mere hypothesis that can be recorded and discussed under this head.

Among the appellations of the Deity occurs *wyrda wealdend* E. 80, A. 1058. It is easy to translate this by *Controller of Events*, and to contend as Köhler (*Germanische Alterthümer* in Beowulf S. 5) does, that the word had lost all its association with the Norn, Wyrd, or as the name is in modern English, Weird. It is true that in the cases just cited there is no reason for seeking any mythological meaning, although *Determiner of Fates* would be an easy and natural translation, but there are uses of this word even in Andreas and Elene, that forcibly recall, if they do not designedly imply, the Wyrd of mythology. Where the Mermidonian attributes

the disastrous flood to their own folly in imprisoning St. Andreas and uses, in assigning this cause, the words:

ūs sēo Wyrd scyðeð
heard ond hetegrim A. 1563.

there is in my opinion no attempt on the part of the poet to escape a heathen allusion, for the words are put into the mouth of a heathen. It is a direct allusion to a power in which the unconverted still believed.

hie seo Wyrd beswâc
forleolc ond forlærde: A. 613.

would be just as direct, were it the speech of a heathen; it is however uttered by the Divine Pilot, in asking for information about Christ, and in giving his explanation of the failure of the people to recognize Him. This He attributes to the deceitful and mendacious teachings of the devil, and then uses the words quoted, thus confounding the devil with Wyrd, or rather supposing Wyrd an emissary or agent of the devil; in either event however it is an unmistakable allusion to the powerful Fate.

hûru, wyrd gescrâf (Gn. Vyrd)
þæt hê swâ gelêaffull E. 1047.

shows Wyrd in another light, and one just as agreeable to her characteristics. The Pilot had confounded Wyrd, as an exponent of heathenism, with the enemy of Christianity; Cynewulf, more charitable, recalling the chequered and singular career of Judas, who, from the most ardent of all opponents to surrender to Helen, became a most faithful and steadfast defender of Christianity, exclaims, Verily, Weird decreed that he should become so faithful etc., recording thus his belief in fatalism, and attributing this to one of the sisters who presided over the destinies of men. Recalling now the expression *wyrda wealdend*, it may be said that had the poet used this expression deliberately and in its full sense, he would not have been heathenizing God, but rather elevating Him above the highest powers of heathen belief, (for even the gods were controlled by the decrees of the Norns,) and giving Him a controlling power over the controlling powers of heathen belief.

Kemble (Saxons in England I) has called attention to the formulas in Beowulf recalling Weird. Such formulas occur here too, as *sume wîg fornām* E. 131, *sume drenç fornām* E. 136, in which the means of death is personified and represented as a personal agency. This is rendered more expressive by the addition of *līfes æt ende*, that is, it indicates that the close of life had come, the allotted limit of existence, and now Wyrd reveals herself in one of her agents and "ravishes the people away". Beowulf has such examples as *hīne Wyrd fornām* B. 1206, *Wyrd ungemete neah* B. 2420, *ealle Wyrd forsweof* B. 2814. In one remarkable example, to which Kemble draws special attention, occurs *swa unc Wyrd geteoð, metod manna gehwæs* B. 2527. It shall befall us, as Weird decideth, the lord of every man, where *metod*, a word generally applied to God, as Vilmar (Deutsche Alterthümer in Heliand) thinks, "da er am wenigsten speciell heidnischen inhalt zu haben scheint", is applied directly to the Fate. Perhaps the word *metten*, another word for Fate was, as Kemble (Saxons in England I, 351) suggests, uppermost in the poet's mind. In Andreas the Lord determines the lot of the apostles,

swâ him dryhten sylf,
heofona heâheyning, hlyt getâchte A. 6.

Between God and the Fate in actions, a certain likeness seems to prevail.

Akin to the expressions given above are *pæt eow in beorge bæl fornimeð* E. 78, *ær þec swylt nime* E. 447, *ær þec cwealm nime, swilt* E. 677, *ealle swylt fornām* A. 996; which recall the usage in Heliand. These are again personified forms and perhaps refer to Fate.

From all of which it is clear that this cult was so familiar to the Anglosaxons, so imbedded in their language, that it was absolutely impossible to avoid words and phrases that recalled it, however much the poets may have been impregnated with Christian beliefs; while in other cases references were made directly to the Norns, as beings well known to those for whom the poems were intended.

The example *wîg fornām* E. 131 (Cf. *Wig ealle fornām* B. 1080), where, according to Grimm (A. u. E. XXXI), *wîg* is

substituted for the more evident goddess of war, *Hild* (Bellona), recalls a heathen deity. I agree with Grimm in seeing here a designation of a heathen god, but see no reason for appealing to any principle of substitution for an explanation of it. The god Tiw seems to have been the god of war and identical with Mars of classical mythology, which is used in the Epinal Glosses as the rendering for Tiw. (Cf. Tuesday and Mardi); now the above examples and others still to be mentioned, clearly show that *wig* was frequently personified and in the same glosses *wig* is rendered by Mars, which seems to identify Tiw and Wig as one and the same god. (Kemble S. in E. I, 351). The expressions therefore *Hildewôma* A. 218, Jul. 136, 663, *wîges wôma* A. 1357, E. 19, resolve themselves into simple descriptions of the noise attending the movements of Bellona and Mars. We find however such parallel expressions as *swefnes wôma* E. 71, *dægrêdwôma* A. 125. Grimm discusses such expressions (Mythologie 413) and shows that day, night, morning, dream etc. were considered by the ancients as personalities. Indeed *oððæt æfen com sigeltorht swungen* A. 1247, is the commentary to *dægrêdwôma*, and *slæp oferéode* A. 464, 821, 827, 864, explains the personality of swefen, the primary meaning of which is sleep.

But perhaps more entertaining still is the fact that *wôma* itself seems to be connected with a deity. According to Grimm (A. u. E.), *wôma* corresponds to *ômi* in Old Norse, which is a name of Oðin, and means the noise-producing god. Hence *wôma* is in all probability a name of Woden, which has lost all of its power, except the quality of noise it then attributed.

To return now to the god Tiw or Wig, there is one most remarkable passage in Elene 162 ff.

After the battle, in which Constantine had won a most complete victory by virtue of the cross, he called an assembly to inquire about the unknown God, and asks:

‘þe þis his bêacen wæs
þe mē swâ lêoht ôðywde ond mîne lêode generede,
tâcna torhtost, ond mē tîr forgeaf,
wigspêd wið wrâðum, þurh þæt wlitige trêo’.

There can be no doubt that *tîr* — *gloria*, is closely connected etymologically with Tiw (Old Norse *Tyr*) and it was most

probably at first another name for the same god. The rune for t, *t*, which means Tir recalls, *♂*, the sign of Mars, with whom Tiw was unmistakably connected. This sign for Mars is of great antiquity (Gm. A. u. E. 156).

It is striking too, as Grimm further notices, that *tir* so often occurs with *tacen*, or words from the same root. Thus here, and in E. 754. (*tire getâenod, decore insignitum.*) B. 1654, and several times in Juliana. The connection with *torht* is, scarcely less noticeable (cf. Judith 93. 157). In a word the Teutonic mind attached great importance to the signs and symbols of the gods, and that of this Tir must have been bright, for that idea seems to be affixed to the symbol so often mentioned with Tir. Now *wigspêd* in the next line is formed of *wig*, which has been seen to be a name of Mars and equivalent to Tiw with which Tir is closely related, and *sped* is success, that is the word means the success that Mars grants, hence success in war. Now, as mentioned, this passage denotes the desire of a *heathen* king to find out who an unknown god is, that is, a god unknown because his sign or emblem — a cross, was unknown, but as if this showed a lack of confidence in the god of war, upon whom he was in the habit of relying, the heathen king ascribes his success to the heathen god (*wigsped*). Indeed though I am not bold enough to propose a change in the usual rendering of this passage I mention, that a capital T and Grein's punctuation, namely the omission of a comma after *forgeaf* would give us a sentence entirely heathen: "and Tiw (Mars) granted me Wigspeed (cf. Godspeed) against the inimical through this shining tree", thus uniting this brightest of signs with the signs of Tiw, in whose martial character this new, unknown god had revealed himself.

Nor would this, even in a Christian poem, be objectionable, when put into the mouth of a heathen king; on the contrary it would serve to heighten the contrast between the pagan king, trusting in Mars, and the Christian king dispatching an expedition to recover the cross of Christ, just as *sêo Wyrd*, as the cause of the sufferings of the Mermidonians renders their conversion the more remarkable. A. 1563.

The careful avoidance of such a reminder of heathendom, which the poet shows in *æt wigge spēd* E. 1182, in speaking of the Christian mementoes but strengthens the view just expressed.

It has been seen already that *wōma* probably meant, or was primarily another name for *Woden* the highest god of northern mythology and hence perhaps the one whose influence had been mostly keenly felt in the conceptions and language of the people, and hence also one whom a Christian poet would most scrupulously avoid mentioning before a people, hardly out of the swaddling-clothes of their new faith and prone to apostacy.

Nevertheless he is recalled several times, though indirectly, in the two poems before us.

The raven, wolf, and eagle, E. 24, 52 were sacred to the highest god (Gm. A. a. E. XXVI. f.). In Old Norse the wolves and ravens are mentioned as companions of Óðinn, and were doubtless in possession of the same distinction among the Anglosaxons, although there is no direct information to that effect (K. S. in E. I, 343. note). Grimm mentions that, as these animals were considered noble, courageous, and bearers of good fortune, and hence consecrated to the highest god, they were the more opposed to the Christian conception, according to which they were devilish.

But the highest god, Woden, to whom they were sacred, was the god of victory (Kemble I. 337), and may not the presence of these companions of his have been indicative of his presence, as the overruling power of battle, ready to turn the balance in favor of the one or the other army, as he may have chosen? That these attendants caused terror may be explained by the voracious characters of these ghoulish animals, and from the ignorance of either army of the issues of the conflict, that lay in the hands of Woden, without supposing these animals to have been considered devilish.

God is the creator, meotod E. 366 etc. This word, which Vilmar (Alterthümer in Heliand) conceives as measurer¹⁾, refers, according to him, in first instance to the measuring god, or

¹⁾ Cf. Grein, Sprachschatz 2, 240.

god who sets boundaries, that is perhaps Thunar, who measured with the hammer, from which were derived those peculiar and prevalent measures by means of a throw (Grimm Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer 54 ff.). The indications are, however, that the god of land-measures, of boundaries etc. among the Saxons was Woden. Wanborough, formerly Wodensburgh, Wonston formerly Wodenstan, and numerous others (See K. I, 344) show his connection with land, while according to the same author, there are numerous instances in charters of the use of Woden's name in connection with boundary, trees, stones or posts. Hence this meotod, which had no doubt lost all of its heathen significance, probably referred originally to Woden, as the god of boundaries.

It remains to be mentioned in this connection that the description of God, as a pilot A. 248 ff.¹⁾) is entirely analogous to the many stories current according to which Woden had performed the same duties; and further that dryhten, which was universally applied to God, was, according to Vilmar, an epithet applied to Woden.

Several isolated allusions of mythological nature belong here.

Eoforcumbol E. 76, 259, means the sign of the boar, has reference to the sign of the helmet and is used by synecdoche for the helmet itself. Grimm (A. u. E. XXVIII f.) and Kemble (I, 357) both connect this with the cult of Freyr, to whom this beast was sacred. It had probably lost its heathen significance.

In the graphic description of the vanity of the world E. 1270, it is compared to the wind, which rises, rushes by, is still, confined in its narrow prison *in nēdcleofan nearne geheafrod*, and repressed by force *þrēam forþrycced*. This word *nēdcteofa*, a prison of necessity, where one is imprisoned against one's will, is used of the prison in which Judas was confined E. 711, and recalls the prison of St. Andreas, which was most probably a cave. The meaning is that the wind was under the control of some power, some northern divinity, corresponding to the Eolus of classical mythology, who locked

¹⁾ Cf. Zupitza in Zeitschrift für Deutsches Alterthum Bd. XXX.

his slaves in a prison-house and sent them out or not, as he listed. From this compilation of the references to the gods it is an easy transition to another mythological conception, which forms an important element in the history of the period. I refer to the belief that peopled the earth with giants, a belief as wide-spread as heathendom and as deep-rooted as that in the gods. The Teutonic mind tended to place that which it could not comprehend in the sphere of the supernatural, that of which it could not remember or explain the origin in that mythical period, when a race of giants trod the earth. In *Elene* we have one word only that may refer to this period, and that is *burgenta* E. 31, which Zupitza translates 'burg, stadt??', Grimm renders it Riesenburg, and thinks that it may refer to some definite locality, but mentions at the same time that it may refer simply to some old castle-crowned rock, some giant's wall, and this view I am inclined to hold from analogy to *enta ærgeweorc* A. 1237, and *eald enta geweorc* A. 1497, Ruin. 2, where the reference in the former is to the roads, the roughly-paved streets, along which St. Andrew was drawn, and in the latter to the columns, from one of which the devastating flood issued. Both derived the appellation from the fact, that their origins were beyond the reach of man's memory, perhaps even of tradition, and hence are attributed to an age before men existed and which belonged to the giants. *Fyrngewæc* c A. 738 I explain in the same way.

§ 2. Religious Conceptions.

If it be true that the heathen worship had left its impression upon the culture and minds, and its indelible stamp on the language, it is not to be wondered at that even those poets who wrote of a Christianity which was to them still in its infancy, should leave upon the monuments of their own poetic power the traces of a heathenism, from the thrall of which they had but recently escaped. It would have been unnatural and contrary to the common experience of mankind, had they been able at once to erase from their minds all the impressions of a former state and to purge it from all the

effects of a long continued religious devotion in order to furnish to the doctrines of Christianity clean tablets, upon which the mandates of a new dispensation should be recorded, or receptacles duly cleansed to receive the spirit and energy of a new religion. Vilmar has shown with marked clearness the presence of this heathen element in the Heliand, and the influence of heathendom upon the poems under discussion has been detailed in the last paragraph. To that I propose now to add an examination of the religious conceptions in order to show in what respect these were modified or altered by their own surroundings and their former training.

A. God and Christ.

Apart from the relationship they sustain to each other *fæder* and *sunu, bearn, godes agen bearn* etc. and the description of Christ's life upon earth, it is almost impossible distinguish between the attributes of the Father and the Son, and indeed in some passages to determine to which of the two allusion is made. They are both described, as a matter of course, in anthropomorphic language, because of the impossibility of conceiving Them otherwise; and, as the language is drawn from persons and things around them, it reveals to us glimpses of the life of that day, which further investigation will render more clearly visible.

God is first of all the creator¹⁾) *meotod* E. 366 etc. (See p. 7); *scippend ealtra* E. 370, *gàsta scyppend* E. 791, is no doubt entirely Christian. To the creation itself, we have several references, as, for instance, in Judas's prayer:

ond þū geworhtest þurh þines wuldres miht
hefon ond eorðan ond holmþræce
sæs sidne fæðm, samod ealle gesceaft
ond þū amâete mundum þinum
ealne ymbhwyrft ond úprador. E. 727 ff.
(See also A. 748, 327.)

*sē þe middangeard gestaðelode strangum mihtum A. 161. A. 535.
sē be rodor áhōf ond gefastnode folnum sinum. A. 521.*

¹⁾ Cf. Grein, Sprachschatz 2.240.

In none of these references is there any allusion to the chaotic state before the creation — a belief which was common to mythology, as well as taught by the Bible.

But more striking are the descriptive epithets of God. He is a king and is described in language elsewhere applied to earthly rulers, with appropriate attributives. Thus He is *cyning engla* E. 79, *cyning ælmihtig* E. 145, *wuldorcyning* E. 291, *þrymcyning* E. 494, *mægencyning* E. 1248; *hēahcyning* A. 6.

He is also the Lord *dryhten* (E. 198) of the heavenly hosts E. 81, of mankind, E. 187, of victories, E. 346, of men, E. 897. This word, which occurs frequently in Andreas and Elene (for a complete list of the occurrence of the name of the Deity, see Jansen Synonymik, or Ramhorst Andreas etc.) has been discussed by Köhler.

This word, which refers to God as a Commander or General, is borrowed from the reverence and respect due such a personage upon earth. As mentioned above (p. 8), Vilmar is of the opinion that this word in its simple form had ceased to be applied to human leaders and was an epithet of the highest god, Woden, from whom it was transferred to God. It is at least an evidence of the correctness of this view, that the simple word invariably refers to God, and very rarely even in composition to man (Köhler, Deutsche Alterthümer in Beowulf p. 4).

It was frequently used in connection with other words as *dryhten god*, *dryhten hælend* etc., which would seem to indicate a sort of necessity for designating more exactly the Christian significance of the word.

As God was the king and Great Commander, who ruled over men and angels, and claimed for Himself the victory in His contests E. 80, so He was the Ruler of heaven *wuldres wal-dend* A. 193, of men *weoruda* A. 388, *fira* A. 922, *þeoda* A. 1453, *mægena* E. 347, and of events *wyrda wealdend* E. 80, A. 1058 (See. p. 2).

Frēa, a word, which belonged to the kings of earth is generally applied to God. E. 488 etc. He is the *secga aldror* E. 97, the Prince of men, just as Constantine is *folces aldror* E. 157; or the Prince of heaven, *wuldres aldror* A. 55. The reference to age suggests the qualities of experience, wisdom,

and prudence, which are supposed to be characteristics of age and rulers. He is the Judge *dema* E. 746, *dugoða dêmend* A. 87, as He sits on His heavenly throne and passes sentence, E. 1283. Like a king, God was the watch or guardian of the rights of His possession.

Thus He is the Guardian *weard* of heaven *wuldræs* E. 84, A. 596; *heofonrîces* E. 197, A. 52; *gâsta* E. 1022; *engla* E. 1101; the shepherd *hyrde*, *brymmes* E. 448, *rices* A. 808; the Helmet, *helm*, *gâsta* E. 176, *æðelinga* A. 277. So He is the Helper of the Spirits *gâsta gêocend* E. 682, and as Constantine is the protector of the nobles, *æðelinga hlêo* E. 99, so God is the Protector of the earls, *eorla hlêo* E. 1047. Indeed these expressions of which *weard*, *hyrde*, and *helm* form a part are favorite forms of portraying that protecting care which a king threw around his people, and suggest the province of God to stand before His people as their Protector.

As Constantine is the king *þeoden* E. 266, whose will Helen bears in mind, so God is the *engla þeoden* E. 777, A. 299 etc., Whose behests the angels obey. As He presides over destinies, so He is the Guide and Teacher of life, *lîfes lâttéow* E. 1210, *lîfes lâreow* A. 1468. And after the battles of life are over, like the kings of earth, He gives rewards and presents, and is therefore called *beorht blædyifa* A. 84, *lîfes brytta* A. 823, *hê . . . gise bryttode* A. 754, *engla eadgifu* A. 74, *savla symbelgifa* A. 1419, *weoruða wilgeofa* A. 62, *wuldrorgeofa* E. 681. Some of these expressions have taken on a coloring appropriate to such weighty things, but others must have recalled the mead-hall, while such a word as *symbel* (*gifa*) was perhaps rarely found in such company. Accustomed to portray the giver of one of those feasts, which the Teutonic forefathers knew how to appreciate, it had sunk in meaning from the well-loaded board to the mere abstract notion of nourishment.

That God rules in glory, E. 811, amid the heavenly throng will appear later.

Christ possessed the same attributes, and although not as clearly a people's king, as in the Old Saxon Messiad, He exhibits these qualities more clearly than God, because of His life on earth.

As Christ, He is the True Light, *sodſæstra leoht* E. 7, the Glory of the children of men *wuldor beorna* E. 186, but as one above His people, He is their prince, *herga fruma* E. 210, and the Prince of Life, *liffruma* E. 335, A. 1286, and the Chief of nobles, *æðelinga ord* E. 393.

This last is of particular interest, as making Christ the acme of the class of nobles, to which He is of course considered as belonging. He rules over the heavens *rodora wealdend* E. 206, over powers, *mihta* E. 337, over men, *þeoda* E. 421. He is a powerful Prince, *rice ræsborå* A. 385 and king *cyning*, and Lord *hlaford* E. 475, and as a king, the Protector of this people and their Leader. Thus He is called *gâsta helm* E. 176, *æðelinga helm* A. 655, *dryhten* E. 176, *pêoden engla* E. 858, *hif-wearde* E. 1035, *þeoda ræswa* A. 1624. Some of these titles suggest His connection with the class of nobles, to which kingship belonged; others are borrowed from military life and others again are purely Christian. Many of them, although found in the Bible, are borrowed from the surrounding life, and are intended, as in the Bible, to invest the Deity with qualities that best reveal His character, and to furnish a medium through which a conception of the Deity can be conveyed, and hence they throw a reflected light upon the honor and reverence due a king, and upon the duties of leadership, protection, and provision, that a king owed his people.

It is worth mentioning too, that these variations for the name Christ are not found in the probable original (O. Glöde, Untersuchung über die Quelle zu Cynewulf's Elene, Anglia IX, 2), where only Christus, Jesus Christus, Dominus noster, Salvator noster, and Filius Dei occur.

Grimm (A. & E. 97) agrees with Kemble in considering *brego*, as simply a title or form of address, and hence indicative of great antiquity. We find *brego mancynnes* A. 540, *gumena brego* A. 61 and *beorna brego* A. 305. *Æþeling* in reference to God or Christ A. 680. 913, reminds one of the same word as king, as does *þeoda baldor* A. 547, with which is to be compared *wigena baldor* E. 344, said of king David. That He is the Guardian of the city is another reference to His military character A. 660.

B. Holy Spirit.

Ramhorst finds (p. 51) that God, Christ and the Holy Spirit are completely identified in their characteristics. This does not seem to me to be an exact statement of the case, for while the same terms are applied to a great extent to God and Christ, the references to the Holy Spirit are few and indicate only a very few of the properties of either Father or Son. In fact the Holy Spirit as a personality is not always clearly taught; on the contrary it seems oftener to be an emanation from the Godhead, a power lent, rather than an active agent. There are two allusions to the Trinity, within the compass now being treated — the one in Elene 177, where the recorded joy of the Christians at being permitted to expound their faith, reads in part:

hû se gâsta helm
in þrýnesse þrymme geweorðad
âcenned wearð
et evangelizaverunt ei mysterium Trinitatis
et adventum Filii Dei. (Acta Sanctorum);
other in Andreas 1686 ff.
þær fæder and sunu and frôfre gâst
in þrînnesse þrymme wealdeð.

These two allusions to the Trinity, which are confined to the language of the church, are not supported by any description of the Holy Spirit that makes Him a person endowed with the qualities of God or Christ. The Holy Ghost is mentioned in E. 936, *him wæs hālig gāst befolen fæste*, where the Spirit was imparted. In E. 1145 the Holy Heavenly Spirit took possession of the dwelling, that is, abode in the heart, and the use in E. 1037 is exactly the same.

Thus in Elene the Spirit seems to be a specific manifestation of God. This is not so clear in Andreas. Thus when the door of St. Matthew's prison was opened *þurh handhrine hâliges gâstes* A. 1002, there is a personification of the Spirit. In A. 908 we have *frôfre gâst* meaning God, and *heofonhâlig gâst* A. 728 meaning Christ, where we find either an interchange of the persons of the Trinity, or, what seems more

probable, it is the use by metonymy of the thing possessed for the possessor (cf. *gâsthâlige guman* E. 71).

In Andreas 1623 we have *aefter hleoðorcwidum hâliges gâstes*, where the reference may be to St. Andrew, as endowed with the Holy Spirit, or through whom the Holy Spirit spoke. It may mean however that this prayer was according to, in harmony with the declarations of the Holy Spirit.

In Andreas 1000, quoted above, the possibility of its referring to St. Andrew is not precluded either by construction or sense, though the most obvious rendering would make it mean the personified Holy Spirit. Of course God and Christ embrace the qualities of the Spirit, but there is no evidence in either poem that the Spirit is identified with Either.

C.

The references to the Virgin Mary, as the mother of Christ A. 687, E. 775, and in E. 1233 as a partner in the heavenly portion, enfold, as far as I can discover, no fruitful germs of Mariology, certainly no developed growth as Fritzsche intimates.

D.

The references to the kingdom of heaven, *heofonrîce* E. 197, 445, 621, 624, 718, 1125, and A. 52, are universally suggestive of some definite limited kingdom, existing in some place above the earth and have in no case that vaguer signification of Bible language. This is natural, for having seen that God was looked upon as a king with the privileges and prerogatives of an earthly ruler, we could but expect that His kingdom would bear resemblance to the kingdoms then existing and known, although an institution of mythology evidently furnished some of the descriptive words, if not the basis for the entire conception of heaven.

Heaven is once mentioned as Paradise *neorxna wang* A. 102 (cf. E. 756). This difficult word *neorxna* renders the designation unclear, but the constituent *wang* recalls the fields of the blessed, the fruitful plains and pleasant valleys, that seem to have belonged to the natural conception of blessedness

from the earliest times of lands flowing with milk and honey, to the happy hunting-grounds of the Indians, and which, as is well known, belonged also to the Teutonic conception. But heaven is usually set forth, as remarked above, as a definite limited kingdom, as, for instance, when a contrast is drawn between *heofonrice* E. 629, and *rice under roderum* E. 631. It is also called *rice* E. 820, which usually means an earthly kingdom, E. 970 etc.

In a narrower sense it is a city *byrig* E. 820. The conception one forms of heaven, from the description as a room, where the Judge sits on the throne, E. 746, or the king in the midst of his knights, A. 874, and as a Noble surrounded by his angels, A. 873, would justify the translation castle rather than city, but the word *byrig* (in contradistinction to *burh*) does not seem to possess this primary meaning¹). The old Teutonic love of their own fireside, and the attachment to their own possessions stand out boldly in the frequent allusions to heaven, as the home and native land of the angels.

Gewât him þâ se hâlga healdend and wealdend
uþengla fruma, êðel sêcan
middangeardes weard þone mânran hâm
þær sôðfaestra sâwla moton
æfter lices hryre lifes brûcan. A. 225 ff.

so too *engla ēðel* A. 525, 642, *mid enghum eard wearðigan* A. 599.

Gewât him þâ se hâlga heofones sêcan
eallra cyninga cyning, þone clânan hâm
êaðmêdum upp A. 979 ff.

so too *tô þâm hâlgan hâm heofona rîces* A. 1685, and the eternal dwellings *êcra gestealda* E. 802. Not only was heaven a home, a bright city, but there are reminiscences of the social life, of the conviviality and gaiety of the mead-hall. That curious journey of the word *symbel* from the festal board of the feast-hall to the spiritual nourishment of the souls in heaven has been touched on (p. 12).

¹⁾ It must be remarked that *byrig* is often nothing more than the dative of *bryg*.

It is now necessary to mention such expressions as *swegles drêamas* A. 641. 810, and *sweget drêamum* A. 720, which recall the *secga sele drêam* A. 1658, the jubilum aulae. As Grimm (A. & E. XXXVII) pertinently remarks, nothing was of more moment to the Teutons than this jubilum aulae, where they met in friendly circle, related stories or experiences and imbibed. This word *drêam* had the primary meaning of noisy joviality, and the derived meaning of blessedness is removed by several links in the chain that unites them. It is in the bright city, this home, that Stephen has the reward of battle, *nîgges lêan* E. 825, bliss without end. Now the use of the word *wig* here, as well as the numerous military and warlike designations of the followers of God, who win peace and with it the rewards of riches and presents, that a mild and gracious king on earth gave to his followers E. 1315 ff., A. 102 ff. etc., recall with great force the thought of a warrior's heaven, as the reward of victory *sigelêan* E. 527. If we recall now the Teutonic conception of Wælheal, not only as the home of the warriors and those who had won by valiant deeds their right to its enchantments, but the nature of these enchantments, the continuation of that jovial conviviality of comrades, who gathered around tables, where the life-giving wine flowed freely and the stories of war-like deeds on earth bore the hope of a successful renewal of these interrupted contests, or gave place to actual trials of strength in fraternal emulation, it would seem to require no stretch of the imagination, no unwarranted assumption from the facts above recorded to see in Walhalla, the middle link between the mead-hall and the Saxon heaven. His picture of Walhalla was with no irreverence drawn from his own social life and as reverently no doubt were many of the charms of Walhalla transferred to the Christian heaven. This explains easily and naturally some of the curious migrations of words, which had to assume shades of meaning so different from their primary significance that they seem to have preserved no vestige of it. Indeed the similarity between Walhalla and heaven, as pictured in the words applied to the latter, is too striking to be merely accidental, and too natural to be considered at all improbable.

The poetical word *rodon*, which occurs so often in Elene,

means either heavens, as for instance, when the heavens grow dark at Christ's crucifixion E. 856, or *under radores ryne* E. 795, 804 or Christ is spoken of, as *rodora waldend* E. 206, 482, 1067, *cyning on roderum* E. 460. 1075. In these cases *rodon* probably means heaven, and this seems to be unquestionably the case in *fæder on roderum* E. 1023, of *roderum* E. 762 from which the devil is cast and *of roderum* E. 1023, whence Helen derives her counsel.

This same double signification attaches to *heofon* = heavens E. 83, 101, (699), 728, 753, 976, and to heaven E. 188, 527, (699), 801, 1230. *Snegel* is used twice of heaven and twice of heavens in *Elene*.

That the general conception placed heaven *above* the earth is shown by the use of *âsfigan* E. 188, *up sîðode* E. 95, etc., more directly by *on heannesse* E. 1125, *on upweg* A. 832, *upp* A. 981.

Gewât him þâ se hâlga helm ælwictha
engla scyppend, tô þâm uplîcan
êðelrîce.

A. 119 f.

That heaven was filled with light is proven by the designations of Christ, by the fact that the messengers of heaven were accompanied by light, that the angels that fly through heaven are wrapt in light, *leohte bewundene* E. 734.

Moreover Lucifer lost, when he was hurled from heaven, the brightest light E. 947 (cf. A. 102 ff.). That music of angelic chorus filled the heavenly court is said in E. 748 ff. and that martyrs swelled the anthem is mentioned in A. 878, ff. Men were admitted into the midst of the pure *on clænra gemang* E. 96, to dwell with the throng of the holy E. 821, to enjoy the bliss of the glorious heaven *wuldras wynne* E. 1040, but no man could enter in human form, E. 786, into this brightest of all creations *in þâ beorhtan gesceaft* E. 1089. No doubt the poet felt it necessary to emphasize this Christian doctrine, that entrance into this new kingdom meant a transition from their own human forms to the brilliant forms and peaceful occupations of the angels, and becoming honored *geweorþod* E. 924 members of a heavenly hierarchy.

E. Angels.

The visits of the angels form an integral part of many of the church legends and seem to have possessed a peculiar fascination for the Teutonic mind, for the poets dwell with particular pleasure upon their appearances, their comings and goings. The angels were the messengers, the emissaries, the representatives of the heavenly king and around them centred all the interest and curiosity that naturally attached to the ambassadors of another court, enhanced by the mystery by which this king was surrounded.

Thus the visit of the angel to Constantine,

þûhte him wlitescýne on weres hâde
hwit ond hiwbeorht hæleða nâthwyle
geýwed ænlîera, þonne hê âr oððe sið
gesêge under swegle.

E. 72 ff.

This messenger *âr*, E. 76, or gleaming ambassador of heaven, *wlîtig wuldres boda* E. 77, dispelled the darkness, for this, I take it is the explanation of *niþhelm toglâd*, for the light vanished with the angel E. 95. This messenger brought the injunctions of the king in heaven to Constantine. They are called without any reference to special missions *wuldres âras* E. 738, A. 831.

These words *âr* and *boda* are in other cases applied to the representatives of earthly kings. That the angels executed other commissions we see from the two companions of the Pilot. They appear here in the sailor's garb, A. 250, and perform the duties of the common snilors, as well of as those which fall within their supernatural province, for instance transferring the travellers from the boat to land by miraculous means, A. 822 f. The angels are weavers of peace *friðowebba*, E. 88. Althongh all Teutonic goddesses and heroines spun and wove, weaving was especially the occupation of Wyrd (Kemble I, 401) and this of the angels is no doubt of mythological origin.

The hierarchies of angels are mentioned several times, but particularly in Judas' prayer E. 725 ff. and A. 717 ff. First are mentioned six angels each with six wings, of whom four are continually doing service before the eternal Judge. These seem to correspond to the four beasts Rev. IV, 7. They form

a heavenly chorus and are called Cherubim. The other two are Seraphim and their duty is to guard Paradise *neorxna-wang* and the tree of life with fiery sword.

In A. 1542 an angel prevents by means of the same weapon the flight of the Mermidonians to the places of safety. The fall of the evil angel and his cohorts is mentioned in the same prayer. The archangels *hêahengla* E. 751, may or may not have represented another class. The passage concerning the Seraphim, who guarded the garden of Eden E. 756, is taken from Gen. III. 24, where, however, these guardians are called Cherubim. The Cherubim and Seraphim are mentioned A. 719, but no effort is made to distinguish between them. Should the order in which they are named both here and in Elene be intended to indicate relative rank, then it is singular that this order should be just the reverse of that usually assigned them, for the first order of the first hierarchy was Seraphim and the second Cherubim. Skeat in a note to Piers the Plowman p. 109 argues at some length the number and order of the hierarchies, which he substantiates by a long list of references.

That the angels are alluded to as *sigorcynn* E. 775, when their duties at any rate in these descriptions are entirely peaceful, except in the case of the Seraphim, recalls the inhabitants of Walhalla. The vision of St. Andrew's followers disclosed to them the angels standing around their chief, The warriors around their king *p̄egnas ymb þeoden* A. 874. The connection of this and the appellation *wuldres p̄egnas* A. 726 with the opinion just expressed is clear.

Perhaps it would not be out of place here to complete the picture of the subjects of God (and Christ) by recalling in connection with him as king the reciprocal relations of his earthly subjects as servants and soldiers.

The Christian faith, dependence and trust which are exhibited throughout the poems under discussion, however beautiful in themselves, or however eloquently expressed, as e. g. when St. Andrew to enliven the confidence of his followers says:

Forþan ic ēow tō sôde seegan wille
þæt nâfre forlæteð lifgende god
eorl on eordan, gif his ellen dêah A. 458 ff.

are too full of the doctrine and inspiration of Christianity to admit of any foreign element. But the names and descriptions of God's followers teem with reminders of the battle field and victory. Among the words that occur the following are the most noticeable.

Cristes cempa A. 993. (cf. *gecoren to cempum* A. 324.), *lēod-fruma* A. 991. which is applied in E. 191 to Constantine; *wigendra hlēo* A. 898 suggests princely attributes, *þegn* A. 528, 1393, E. 487, meant originally a servant or subordinate. It soon, however derived a broader meaning and is applied to Beowulf himself. B. 194. 1872. It is used frequently of the apostles, who were the subalterns or knights of Christ. Thus too *wīga unslāw* A. 1713. St. Andrew is called too *æðeling* A. 992, *eorl* A. 1265, *dæd fruma* A. 1457, *sē ãr*, A. 1649. 1681, which we have seen applied to angels, *éadig oreta* A. 463, *anræd oretta* A. 985, *hālig cempa* A. 461, *cempa collenserhð* A. 538, *maga* A. 625, *wīges heard* A. 841, *beorn beaduve heard* A. 984, *ellenrof* A. 1394, *cène collenserð* A. 1580. The devil calls St Andrew *æðelinga sum* A. 1176, *synna folces gewinna* A. 1302, *hæleða gewinna* A. 1199, *gāðfrēa* A. 1335, *aeglæca* A. 1361, (this word is used also of the devil) *wiðer feohtend* A. 1185, *frecne feohtan* A. 1352, *ânhaga* A. 1353, *sigetorht* A. 1248. Moses is called *þone hālgan wer* E. 785, *þām eorle* E. 787. Judas' religious experiences, his speech before the Jews, his prayer and his conversion are too perceptibly touched with the colors of Christianity to expose the back-ground of Teutonic fondness for war and pride is the bravery and fidelity of warriors A. 401.

The apostles are *frome folctogan and fyrdhwate* A. 8. stre-
bende und brave herzöge. of whom the following gives us a
military picture.

Bæt weron mære men ofer eordan
frome folctogan and fyrdhwate
rōfe rincas, þonne rond ond hand
on herefeldan helm ealgodon
on meotud wange

God, the king, calls St. Andrew, this noble and earl His dearest friend wine lēofesta A 1433

F. Cross.

The whole poem of Elene hinges on the cross its discovery and the Christian teaching founded upon it and yet there are passages connected with the cross that show faint reminiscence, whether intended or not, of heathen conceptions. The cross is first alluded to in Constantine's vision *swefnes woma* E. 71. amid the nestling of sleep which has been seen to be a conception common to the Saxons. The cross itself, which Constantine saw in the heavens, was brilliant with ornaments, mounted in gold and shone with gems, and on it were written those magic words which gave him confidence and victory.

Constantine had a cross made after the pattern of the one he had seen. This was no doubt the same cross that Helen carried with her on her search for the true cross.

þær wæs gesýne sincgim locen
on þām hereþrēate, hlāfordes gifu. E. 264 f.

It is not then surprising, that the cross which they expected to find, the reality of which these bright, flaming symbols, set with jewels and mounted in gold, gave but a reflected picture, should be described as a bright object *þurg þæt beorhte gesceap* E. 790. for the sake of, on account of that bright object i. e. the cross, while the hoard of gold *gold hord* E. 791 evidently refers to the cross and perhaps without any figurative meaning, or meaning borrowed from the almost unceasingly existing belief in buried treasure. There is no allusion in Elene to the Venus temple, supposed to have stood over the buried cross.

The sign of heaven *wuldres tācen* A. 88. which appeared to St. Matthew was like the bright sun *swylce hādre segl* A. 89. This sign may have been the cross, the usual sign of heaven, although it seems here to represent God and to have been replaced by God, where return to heaven is described.

The cross was intolerable to the devil and sufficient to put him to rout A. 1339.

The discovery of the nails is particularly interesting because of the use to which they were put. These nails surpassing even the cross in their sacredness and eliciting tears of fer-

vent religious joy from Helen find their highest usefulness in decorating the bridle of a war-steed and insuring success in war to its rider E. 1181. This exhibits the Teutonic faith in charms of which another instance is to be mentioned and magnifies the attention given to the caparison of horses.

G. Devil.

The allusion in Jul. 418 ff. A. 1191 ff. and elsewhere to the fall of angels is supplemented in Elene 763 ff. by a description, the probable original of which I transcribe,

In autem dominaris omnium, quia tua factura sumus,
qui incredibiles Angelos profundo tartaro tradidisti; et ipsi
sunt sub fundo abyssi a draconum faetore cruciandi, et tuo
praecepto contradicere non possunt.

The fall is ascribed to ambition, to a rebellion against God's authority. The chief of the fallen band *pīnum wiðsōc aldordōme* E. 767 and because of this sin of rebellion was cast out of heaven of *radorum āwurpe*, and made fast in hell *in witum fæst*. E. 771, where he and his legions suffer the punishments and tortures of this abyss E. 765 ff. Now notwithstanding the biblical nature of this account I can not forbear to cite, as a striking piece of parallelism a passage from Kemble (p. 382) concerning Loki, whom Grimm identifies with Grendel. ‘But even Loki was at first the friend and associate of the gods; he was united with them by the most sacred bonds of brotherhood, and his skill and wisdom secured them victory in many a dangerous encounter. Like Lucifer, he had been a tenant of heaven; why he and the gods ultimately parted in anger we are not told; but we find him pursuing them with the utmost malice, till at length he causes the death of Baldor. He is then bound and cast beneath the worlds; the poisonous snake hangs over him distilling torturing venom; his faithful wife sits by and catches the drops as they fall, but, when the vessel in which she receives them is full and she turns for a moment to empty it, the deadly juice reaches the prostrate god and in his agony he trembles in every limb. This convulsion is known to men as the earthquake. It is only in the twilight of the gods, that he will break his chain and lead the sons of Murpel to avenge him upon the race of Woden.’ The analogy is

singularly striking. The participation in heavenly glories, the sin, perhaps ambition, which causes the fall, the punishment different in kind but alike in terror, which must be suffered under the worlds are characteristic of both accounts, and just as Loki finds his escape in the twilight of the gods, so the darkness of a sin releases Satan from his bondage.

gēn ic findan can
þurh wrōltstafas widercyr sidðan
of dām wearhtreafum. E. 925 ff.

The current belief seems to have been that only Satan was bound (cf. A. 1194), for usually, as in Julianæ, Andreas &c., the son of Satan is the agent of his diabolical machinations. Whether this arose from a desire to draw an analogy to Christ, who represented the Father on earth, or is simply an appellation of any member of the infernal cohort is not easy to determine. Satan himself seems to have visited the earth too, for there is nothing to suggest that Judas' controversy E. 900 ff. was with any subordinate, and his presence is stated in words in A. 1346 ff. and 1360 ff. in which case to accomplish a task, which was too difficult for his son and which proved to be beyond his power. The devil *deofol.* A. 43, E. 101, or *helle dioful* A. 1300, E. 901, appears in Elene endowed with the power to fly E. 900 ff. This evidences his former character as angel, in which he appears in Jul. 244, *hæfde engles hiw*. He seems, however, to have had the power of assuming forms, as in A. 1171, *hæfde wêriges hiw*.

Satan is the origin of evil and the cause of sin. In Andreas he is frequently called *bona*, a word which occurs several times in Beowulf (158. 588 u. ö.) in the sense of murderer, a term akin to the terms which suggest a king of wickedness, such as *mordres mânfrea*, the wicked lord of crimes E. 942, A. 1315, *mordres brytta* A. 1173, *synna brytta* E. 958, *leahtra fruma* E. 839. These terms recall the Ring-spender or Granter of Wishes. As instances of his power over men, compare A. 1691, A. 1704, E. 208, A. 768 &c.

In *eatal æclēca* E. 902, and *atol æglēca* A. 1314, we meet with a word which occurs several times in Beowulf in reference to Grendel and strange to say in this very combination *atol ægleâca* B. 592. 159, et. al. — it is not probable, however,

that the words contained any more definite notion than that of a terrible monster. It is true that the word is several times applied to the dragon in *Béowulf* 2535, 2906, but the use of this word is so varied, as will be seen later, that it would be venturesome to draw any inference from this fact.

In the enmity existing between God and the devil, of whom the former ruled in His kingdom with mildness and love E. 947 &c. and the latter with cruelty and hate (cf. *Juliana*), the battle ground as well as the prize of the contest was the earth, the *middangeard* E. 6, &c. the midearth lying between heaven and hell. This word had no doubt this signification even before Christianity, for the pagans placed their fiends and monsters under the ground, whether at the bottom of lakes as Grendel, or under the world as Loki; and Wælheal was above the earth, and between them lay the plain upon which mortal man moved: but no doubt this word gained in weight, when it was more clearly located between two definite kingdoms, the one above, the other below itself.

This hostility is expressed in the general word *fēond* E. 900, A. 43, *sceaða* E. 762, and in composition *fyrnsceaða* A. 1348, *hellesceaða* E. 957, *se atola gast* A. 1298, *eald geniðla* A. 1343. The traitor *wærloga* A. 613 does not confine his enmity to God, but is a hater of the people and notwithstanding the fact that he is bound, he has the power of overcoming and torturing others E. 181, 207, 211, &c. The contest between Christ and the devil is depicted in *Elene* 904 ff. as if it were a contest between kings. The devil deplores the loss of his following, *folgað* E. 904, and the renewal of the strife and confesses the injury he has sustained at Christ's hand, and particularly in the loss of possessions. Christ's kingdom was spreading as his own proportionately dwindled. It seems to be a contest for enlargement of kingdom, a struggle over boundaries. As mentioned before Satan is called *faeder* not only in the narrower sense, which occurs in nearly all the legends of this period, for example *Gudlac*, *Juliana*, *Andreas*, but also in the broader meaning of chief, for he calls his warriors *rincas mīne* A. 1345, also his children *bearnum mīnum* A. 1330, while the relation of commander and soldiers is further given by *rofe lindgesteallan* A. 1344, and *þegnas þrŷðfulle* A. 1331.

Reverting to the analogy between Loki and Lucifer, to the various words jointly applied to Grendel and the devil, and recalling alike the dragon and this monster of hell, I remark that, while the whole description of the devil whether as a fallen angel, an enemy or king could have been taken from the Bible and probably was (e. g. Isaiah XIV. 12 ff. Rev. XX), it is more than likely that a heathen element was interwoven in the history, and at any rate the prevalence of such beliefs and conceptions, to which the teaching of the Christian fathers was so little opposed, rendered the latter easy of acceptance, and contributed no doubt to the relatively unimpeded introduction of Christianity.

H. Hell.

If it has seemed in place to draw a parallel between Loki of northern mythology and the devil of Christianity, whose tortures surpassed those of the heathen wicked spirits, and to postulate an influence of heathenism on the conception of the devil, it will be even more evident in the consideration of the hell of Christianity, as exhibited in the poems before us, that heathendom has left its impress upon this institution. The word *hel* E. 1230 which denotes a place, was the name of the Teutonic mistress of the cold and joyless under world (Kemble 392). The hell of Elene and Andreas corresponds more nearly to Nástrond, or perhaps a union of the realm of Hel with Nástrond. „The realm of Hel was cold, cheerless, shadowy and lacking in all that made Wælheal desirable. — — — For the perjuror and the secret murderer Nástrond existed — a place of torment and punishments — the strand of the dead filled with foulness, peopled with poisonous serpents and cold and gloomy: the kingdom of Hel was Hades, the invisible, the world of shadows; Nástrond was what we call Hell“ (Kemble, Saxons in England p. 393). How does Hell appear in Andreas and Elene?

Hell is a dark dwelling place *heolstorhofu* E. 764 or *heolstor* A. 1193, into which the devil was hurled, a place of destruction, *fornwyrd* E. 765, A. 1596, of torment, *wita* E. 765, *awerged in wîtum* A. 1301, *in wita fornwyrd* A. 1620. The subjects for punishment suffer the qualms of death *deadcwale*

E. 766, in the embrace of the dragon *in dracan fæðme* E. 766, or *biterne bryne on banan fæðme* A. 616. This word dragon may refer to the devil himself, as far as the Biblical teaching is concerned (cf. e. g. Rev. XII.), but there is one serious objection to this explanation. The poet is describing the fall of the angels, that is, there are as yet no devils, and yet these angels and future devils for their sin of presumption must suffer in the embrace of the dragon; not in their own embrace? Now it is known that Nástrond was peopled with serpents or monstrous beasts, and that a part of the Saxon conception of Hell was, that it was a huge monster, whose mouth was the entrance to these accursed regions, and it seems more natural that the poet was influenced by his preconceived notion of hell, which existed and was inhabited by some dread monster or dragon before the devil entered it, than to make the poet guilty of purposely relating that the devils suffered in their own embrace. I remark that Grein gives a note to his translation of the line 766 which escaped my notice until after the above lines were written viz: die Hölle selbst ward als Drache gedacht, with which I fully agree. Compare Plates IV and XI of the Caedmon Ms. published by Ellis in the *Archæologia* vol. XXIV. The *on banan fæðme* A. 616 may have some such meaning, but refers no doubt simply to the devil, in whose embrace others suffer. That hell is described as a narrow home *in þām engan hām* E. 921, just as the prison of Judas was called a narrow dwelling *from þām engan hōf* E. 712, shows that hell was conceived as a narrow prison, a place of confinement, a tent or cell of felons or criminals, *wearhtreafum* E. 927, *helltrafum* A. 1693, a court of crime *mordher-hōf* E. 1303, and a place of darkest and most terrible torments, *in þā sweatestan ond þā wyrrestan wîtebrōgan* E. 931 f. In fact the tortures of this narrow, enclosed prison home or dungeon form a favorite variation of this disagreeable theme. It is a place where men suffer punishment *wræce þronian* A. 615, where persecutions through pain prevail *sarum forsoht* E. 953. Christianity introduced another element of torture which finally became the characteristic of hell, but although it was able to add the torments of flame, it was unable to dispel the darkness and cheerless gloom of hell. Those in hell suffer

in the surging flame *wylme* E. 765, and withstand the fiercest heat of flames *biterne bryne* A. 616, find a dwelling place in a bath of fire *fýrbæðe* E. 949 and take their places on a lighted funeral pyre *âde onæled* E. 951, and are punished in an abyss of surgeing flames *in þæs wylmes grund* E. 1299, and yet in the midst of all this fire and flame they are veiled in darkness *þeostrum forþylmed* E. 767, in a dark and cheerless place A. 1192 f., E. 764.

Fire, as one of the chief tortures of hell, the only one that is named by name, was introduced by Christianity (e. g. Rev. XX). The other tortures may have been drawn from religious teaching or from the conception of Nástrond, but the gloom and darkness of hell was drawn from mythology alone. That this abyss of torment *susla grund* E. 944, this abyss of hell *hellgrund* E. 1305, was situated beneath the earth is proven by the word abyss or depth, by the fact that the devils came up from hell to earth E. 900 and furthermore by the fact that the fourteen particularly wicked Mermidonians

gewiton mid þý wâge in forwyrd sceacan

under eorðan grund.

A. 1596 f.

It can be mentioned in conclusion that the conception of hell, as a prison of the nature familiar to them was prevalent among the Anglosaxons in the early days of Christianity.

I. Purgatory.

The world is not permanent, the possessions and beauty of the land pass away like the wind, which starts up, darts over the clouds in its rage and is suddenly stilled. So shall the earth and all who are on it pass away by fire, when the great Judge comes E. 1270 ff. That the earth was destined to destruction and that too by fire was the belief of the Northmen (K. S. in E. I, 409), perhaps too of the Anglo-saxons and hence this doctrine of final destruction (cf. A. 1440) unimpeded. The Judgement Day E. 1270, A. 1438, is, as far as I know, purely Christian.

This destruction of the world by fire is at the same time the purgatory through which all have to pass. Mankind, in this fire — the flames of the burning world E. 1279, — is

divided into three parts, the righteous to whom the flame is tempered are above; the sinful in the middle who suffer the fire's woe; and below the accursed enemies — the haters of men — whose own actions bind them in the bottom of this fire. They fall into the abyss of hell and disappear entirely from Divine consideration. The others purified, freed from dross, enjoy the grace of the eternal king and His everlasting possession. Where? In Heaven? Or is this the old belief that a new world brighter than theirs should arise Phoenix-like from the ashes of this terrible destruction and rid of evil should itself be heaven?

K. Death.

Perhaps it would not be an inappropriate conclusion to this chapter to gather together the few references to death that occur in the two poems, for this is closely connected with these religious views. They are themselves a preparation for death, and death the doorway by which full enjoyment of that kingdom above the earth is obtained.

Life is a union of soul and body E. 889. 90, and death is a dissolution of this union, thus *tôlysan lîc and sâwle* is to kill A. 151, *gast onsendan* A. 182 is to die, or absence of the spirit denotes death *gâstlêasne* E. 875, *sâvllêasne* E. 877, which describe a body without life *unligendes* E. 879 or robbed of life, *lîfe belidenes lîc* E. 878, or a doomed habitation *fâge hûs* E. 881, or a body made fast to its couch *lîc legere fæst* E. 883. The qualms of death *swylcwale* A. 1370 and *cvale* E. 488, mean death by violent means, perhaps by torture, as when the devil predicts for St. Andrew a sore death of torture A. 1370, or where the results of some of Saul's persecutions are related E. 499. *Cwealm* E. 676 has a similar reference in the punishment threatened Judas. Death is a terrible necessity *þrêaned* E. 884, and one who is dead has started on a journey *gefærenne* E. 872. Are not some of these expressions suggestive of the Fates, who snatched the people away and who rob the body of life and the spirit from the doomed habitation? Death, as an entrance upon a journey, partakes at the same time of Christianity and heathenism, for

the former uses such language, the latter held such a doctrine in various forms, death having been considered by some peoples of heathendom as a transition from one state of existence to another with opportunities for intensified enjoyment not differing in kind.

§ 3. Governemental Relations.

The two poems under examination are drawn from church legends and hence it would be unwarranted to expect a very clear and full picture of the life of the day, and particularly in reference to lord and servant, commander and soldier, king and subject. But we are by no means left entirely without means of information, for royalty and war were too intimately associated with the life of the Anglosaxons to be omitted in the language of popular recitals. In *Elene* about $7\frac{3}{4}\%$ of the words refer directly to war and its appurtenances and fully $2\frac{1}{4}\%$ to royalty, so that we have fully 200 words out of the 2000 (in round numbers) connected with the life royal and military.

In *Andreas* the proportion is not so large.

It is true, that the scene of action in both of these poems is shifted to a great distance from the soil of their growth, but a comparison with the originals shows that the poet has had to draw upon customs and relations indigenous to his own country in order to give complete pen pictures of these strange peoples and their customs. Hence we can assume without rashness, that the descriptions we have of Constantine and Helen, of their followers, of the Mermidonians and their customs have many elements belonging to the people and kings best known to the author or authors of *Andreas* and *Elene*, and the public, for which these poems were intended.

If we pass on now to the consideration of the *king*, we are confined to *Elene*, for, apart from the anthropomorphic references to God in this capacity, there is no mention of a king in *Andreas*. The Mermidonians, of whose local government little is said, had, as far as we know, only *folces frum-gâras* A. 1070, princes or dukes (Heyne, *Béowulf*) or perhaps

better leaders, althongh there is an allusion in God's injunction to St. Andrew not to delay his mission to this island to the *bregostôl* A. 209, or the chair of the Mermidonian ruler.

On the other hand, in Elene the lives of Constantine and of Helen, who in her manly action rises in every way to the dignity of a king, furnish us no little material.

For the king I find very nearly the same characteristics that have been pointed out as belonging to Teutonic monarchs (cf. Vilmar & Köhler). He is of course of noble birth and by preeminence *the noble æðeling* E. 12, 66, 202, 1003, 1198, and the protector of the class to which he belongs *æðelinga hlêo* E. 99. To the king, too, was given, no doubt as implying the dignity and experience accompanying age, the term *aldor*. Thus he is called *secga aldor* E. 97, perhaps the most experienced of the men, or, with a transfer of this quality to him who rules or leads, simply prince. He presides over assemblies, which he himself calls together E. 153, and propounds questions E. 162.

Naturally however in a land harassed by war and a time characterized by almost unceasing military encounters with internal or external foes, the king was best known as a military hero, and hence Cynewulf borrows many of his distinctive appellations for the king from war, its preparation and its results.

He is the protector of the people, *lêodgebyrga* E. 203, or better the surety of his people. *Gebryga, byrgea, borga* is connected with *beorgan* and means primarily surety or bail, and from this surety or bail for his people comes the derived meaning of one who stands between his people and another, so in E. 203, from the king, or in E. 556, from those Jews, who as representatives are to prevent the loss of their national power by evading the disclosure of the cross. He is the first of the people, the acme of the gradations of rank from the serf through the nobles up to the chief of the nobles, *lêodfruma* E. 191, and their lord *hlâord* E. 983, 265; this is a correlative word implying servant and indicative of the body of dependents, that the king gathered around him and in a modified form the subjection of the people generally. The king

is the leader of the army, *heretema* E. 10 a position to which he was raised, *âhafen* E. 10.

This can of course have little authority in establishing the possibility of the election of a king among the Teutonic races, but as a matter of fact kings could be such by inheritance or election (Gm. Ra. 231) and hence the elevation to a kingly office was no doubt perfectly intelligible to the Anglo-saxons.

It is not devoid of interest to note, that the word *âhebban* referred to the custom of raising a newly elected king upon a shield, in order to exhibit him to the people (Gm. Ra. 234), who expressed their approval by acclamations, indeed as Kemble says (S. in E. 154 foot note) “*Levat⁹ in regem: tō cyninge âhafen*” continued to be the words in use, long after the custom of really chairing the king had in all probability ceased to be observed’.

He was the helmet of the army, *heriga helm* E. 148, the helmet of the men *weoruda helm* E. 223. The helmet, as it appears, played an important part in the armour of the Teutonic forefathers and was a favorite simile with them. The king is the helmet, that which protects the most important part, the head of the army, and hence used for the head itself. For his place in battle was not that of an inactive, directing commander, but of an active, *headofremmende* E. 130 war prince, *hildfrema* E. 10. 101, one, who himself brave in the contest *nīðheard cyning* E. 195 and active in the use of the shield [E. 11] is at the same time the warriors ward, *nīgēna weard* E. 153 and their protection, *nīgēna hlēo* E. 150, and the guardian of the battle, *gūðweard* E. 14. Nothing could give a more impressive picture of the honor and reverence felt for a king and the dependence of the people than the use of these words stamped with these qualities, as epithets synonymous with the king himself. That the king was in the habit of bestowing presents, whether of rings of treasure, of gold or according to the desires of those who were to be honored, is clear from such titles as *bēaggifa* E. 100. 199, which refers to a custom mentioned in several poems of this period of bestowing rings on honored guests, trusted followers or appreciated minstrels; so too *since⁹ brytta* E. 194 and *goldwine gu-*

mena E. 201 and *wilgifa* E. 221. This last seems to be a generalization of reward giving and present making.

Pryðbord stēnan E. 151¹⁾), would indicate that the king had the shields set with jewels after the happy issue of the battle, a custom, with which I am not familiar from other sources, nor is the reading here sufficiently clear to admit of any hypothesis.

Constantine, who by the way is several times called *cāsere* E. 42. 70 u. ö. is a true king *riht cyning* E. 13, who had been honored by God with glory and power *mārðum ond mihtum* E. 15. These were the touchstones that proved the reality and worth of his kingship, for among the Teutons a kind of ordeal of God tested his right to reign. Was he successful and his country prosperous, he was a good king; did ill luck attend him in battle, or misfortune, whether famine or pestilence visit his land, they were laid at the king's door and he was liable to be deposed (Gm. Ra. 231). No wonder then, apart from the love of glory and desire for prosperity, that a king, who used his position of high authority as a joy, *tō hrōðer* E. 16, for many and as a punishment, *tō wræce* E. 17, for his enemies, should count glory and fortune in war as the most desirable possessions, for a failure to win the first and enjoy the second might, according to Teutonic conception, bring with them further disasters. A good king is gracious *ārfæst* E. 12 to the people, over whom he holds empire *rice* E. 13.

Of the *Queen* mother we learn much in this poem, to which she gives the title, but little of any interest concerning her as a woman, or a mother; and no allusion is made to her English descent, on account of which it has been supposed this theme was particularly entertaining to the early poets. Her actions are all those of a man, and her position that of an obedient subject, a representative of the king, and as such endowed with kingly attributes and surrounded by a halo of royalty. In obedience to her son's commands, this woman *ides* E. 229 and *wif* E. 1132 and queen *cwēn* E. 247 (primarily woman, secondarily *the* woman hence queen) stations herself at the head of an expedition to go over the sea to seek the

¹⁾ Cf. Grimm's (*Andreas und Elene*), note on this line.

cross. Although there is no battle, save those of words in the several assemblies over which she presides, she is described as the battle queen *gūðcnēn* E. 254, 331, as the queen of victory *sigecnēn* E. 260, 998, and as celebrated in battle *breadurōſe* E. 1004, a mighty queen *rīce cnēn* E. 411. The Teutonic mind could not conceive of royalty without prowess in war and stamped upon the language descriptive of royal personages, whether involved in military encounters or not, the impress of the battle field and military glory. In one respect we gain an insight into regal customs. As a stately queen of battle *geatolīc gūðcnēn* E. 331 adorned with ornaments of gold *golde gehyrsted* E. 331 this imperial connection *cāſeres mæg* E. 330 awaits upon her throne *in cynestōle* E. 330 the delegation of Jews. This glimpse of reigning royalty upon a chair of state and with the pomp and splendor of imperial majesty was no doubt but a reflection of some more vivid picture in the poets own mind of the brilliant scenes of indigenous courts and hospitable mead-halls. The elements of the picture are rather those of the court (*hof* E. 537) of a resident king than a journeying queen. Just as the titles of the king (*cyning, þēoden* &c.) are drawn directly from the people as an aggregation and locate the king in the people's bosom, so *þēodcnēn* E. 1156 seems to represent the same popular side of imperialism. Her title *hlādfige* E. 400 corresponds in rights etc. to *hildford*. As a Christian element is to be counted the inspiration, or power of divination, by which the queen avers with such absolute certainty that Judas had told his own people the true story of the cross E. 655.

B. Feudal System.

The data are so meagre in the poems before us that a delineation of the relation of the classes to each other, the rights and privileges vested in ownership of land, the control and power exercised over the unfree and the serfs is impossible. War and seafaring, both of which are to be discussed lower down, form the chief occupations, and here it must suffice to collect all that is to be learned of distinct classes and of land, and then to add in another paragraph a few words about

the social and family life and the employments mentioned in the poems.

The earls (*eorlas*) are those, who surround and attend the king and as the allusion is usually to war, they seem to be at the same time chosen warriors E. 12, 66 &c. Those who accompanied the queen on her journey were also earls E. 225, 256, 275, 620, 848, 1198, and the same rank is given to the three thousand selected Jews E. 321, to the one thousand E. 332, and to the five hundred E. 404, 417, and in E. 435 to the Jews generally. The word is used of Moses in E. 787, and Judas is *eorla hlēo* E. 1074. In all these cases the only constant factor seems to be selection on some principle of excellence, special qualification or prominence, without any consideration of the relation of the earls to the king on the one hand, or their position of mastery and control over the serfs and unfree on the other. They were subjects to whom the king was gracious E. 12 and who camped around him when the pitched his tent E. 66. They were the chosen followers of Helen, the selected counsellors of the Jews. In Andreas the word is applied to the Mermidonians after their conversion A. 1640 and they had become selected followers of God. The nobles and earls *æðele mid eorlum* A. 1646 became Christians.

This apparent separation of the nobles and earls into two classes does not coincide with the usually held theory, that the nobles (*æðelingas*) were the same as the earls, this name having been given to them to express an inherent quality. The *æðelingas* mentioned without exacter designation E. 99 and 393 are the same as the earls in E. 846. I take it that the nobles formed no distinct class but rather a select group of the earls, perhaps being considered too of higher rank. This higher rank of the nobles is perhaps indicated by the frequency, with which this word is applied to the king (p. 66) and the fact that Christ is *æðelinga ord* E. 393.

For man in a general sense we find *mann* E. 16, *secg* E. 47, *nīð* E. 465, *guma* E. 14, *þras* E. 1078, with perhaps minute distinctions and infinitesimal differences, but exhibiting no essential variation in application. *Wer* (E. 22 &c.) is the man as individual upon whom, for instance, a fixed value is set (*wergyld*) but it is used quite as frequently in a general sense,

denoting men or warriors. *Pegn*, or knight, denoted in its early history a subordinate, came however in the course of time to be applied without the faintest shadow of a stigma. It is frequently used of the apostles, as the knights, or servants of God; it is applied by the Jews to Judas in extolling his superior wisdom E. 540, and to the army, which is elsewhere spoken of as earls E. 151. Zupitza translates this word in E. 151. 540 Mann, in E. 487 Jünger, but in E. 549 Diener. This translation may mean nothing more than servant, in the sense in which one could speak of the followers of a king as his servants E. 151, or of the apostles. As servants of Christ E. 487, but if there is to be a distinction drawn between E. 151, for instance, where it means man and E. 549, where it means servant, i. e. menial, then the translation seems to me inadmissible. *Pâ cwom þegna hêap tô þâm heremeðle*, E. 549 f., intimates a certain portion of those present at the interview, to which heralds summoned E. 550. The summoned Jews including Judas came E. 557. Judas is turned over to the queen 587, who dismisses the Jews E. 598, retains Judas as surety E. 600 and addresses him in the presence of the earls, *for eorlum* E. 620. What earls? Either all her followers including the *þegna hêap*, or what would seem more natural the *þegna hêap* alone, who are her followers. In either case they are mentioned as earls, and hence could not be consistently called servants (i. e. menials).

The divisions of land held in common by a tribe or band, or under the control of a lord or king were called Marks. These divisions may have been natural, that is bounded by mountains or water, or they may have been purely geographical. Whatever these boundaries may have been, they were rigorously defended against all attempts at violation. The references in Andreas and Elene are purely verbal. *Mearc-land* A. 19 has taken on with the extent of land the broader designation of country, and *lêodmearc* A. 778 makes this designation clearer by adding people, while *mearc-land* A. 803 probably refers to the same country as *leodmearc*. *Ofer mearc-paðu* E. 233, A. 789 and *be mearc-paðu* refer to the roads running through these provinces or countries.

C. Assemblies.

The assemblies held in Elene, over which the king or queen-mother presided were convoked for religious purposes. Thus Constantine summons the wisest to come to the synod E. 154 ff. in order to reveal to him through the wisdom culled from ancient lore, the story of the cross, and Helen resorts to the same method of procedure in order to elicit from the wise but reticent Jews their jealously guarded secret concerning the concealment of the cross E. 277 ff. and delivered her opening address before an audience of three thousand Jews and most probably her own followers. By the principle of selection this cumbersome mass of counsellors was diminished to one thousand, five hundred and finally Judas alone. These assemblies are of interest in the skillful development of the poet's plan, but partake too exclusively of a religious nature to reveal anything concerning those assemblies of which Tacitus speaks in Germ. XI: *De minoribus rebus principes consultant; de majoribus omnes. Ita tamen ut ea quoque quorum penes plebem arbitrium est, apud principes pertractentur.* The word *gemôt* E. 279 recalls the *witena gemot*, or assembly of counsellors, whom the king probably appointed and over whom he presided (cf. Tac., Germ. XI).

In Andreas we are more fortunate. The custom of the Mermidonians was to hold a Ðing, a general assembly (*Volksding*) every thirty days, *swâ hîe symble ymb þrîtig þing gehêdon nihtgerîmes*, A. 157, and one of these meetings falls within the time of the poem, although the session was occasioned by an unusual emergency. The death of the guards on duty at the prison of St. Matthew and the escape of all the prisoners caused consternation in the city and opened a question, that demanded immediate solution, for the cravings of unappeased hunger cried aloud for a substitute to satisfy their anthropophagical appetites.

þâ ic lungre gefrägn lêode tôsomne
burgwaru bannan; beornas cômon,
wiggendra þréat, wicgum gengan
on mearum môdige mæðelhêgende

æscum dealle. Dâ wæs eall geador
tô þâm þingstede þêod gesamnod; A. 1095 ff.

The summons to the council were promptly obeyed and the warriors came armed with lances and mounted on their war-steeds. There was no need of a formal explanation of the convocation. The question was one of pinching necessity and its solution, not its discussion, was the desired consummation, and hence with eloquent directness they appeal to chance for a decision and allow lot to show, who shall serve as his brothers' meal.

The method of obtaining this decision deserves particular notice.

lêton him þâ betwêonum tân wisan
hwylene hira ærest ôðrum sceolde
tô fôddurþege feores ongyldan;
hluton hellerâftum hâðengildum,
teledon betwinum. Dâ se tân gehwearf
efne ofer ænne ealdgesiða,
sê wæs uðweota eorla dugoðe
heriges on ôre.

A. 1101 ff.

They allowed the "tan" to show which of them should first sacrifice his life to furnish food for the others. "Tan", got. *táins*, ahd. *gein* means *virga* and then *sors*. This second meaning is derived from the use of the first for the purposes of the second.

In my opinion A. 134 ff. will throw some light on this. The crowd gathers to see if the prisoners were still alive and to decide, whom they might first rob of life after the allotted time A. 129 ff. and then we have:

Hæfdon hîe on rûne ond on rimeræfte
âwriten wælgrâdige wera endestæf,
hwænne hîe tô môse meteþearfendum
on þâre werþeode weorþan sceoldon.

It seems to me to be an unmistakable allusion to selection by lot of him, who should first furnish them a meal, nor is it necessary to seek this explanation for the passage in the custom of these people to cast lot, although that strengthens the probability, for the very wording seems to indicate it,

although the translation from Grein smothers any such significance.

es hatten mit Runen und berechnender Kunst
aufgezeichnet die Leichengierigen den Endetag der Männer
wann die zum Mahle den Mundkost-bedürfenden
in dem Wehrvolke werden sollten.

And first of all it seems to me possible to find a more pertinent meaning for *endestæf* than Endetag, or Ende (Heyne) B. 1754. The plural of stæf is frequently used in the sense of "letters" and we know that the runes were cut (âwritten) on the end of small beech staves, now is it not probable that this *endestæf* may have been used of this small staff or branch, on the end of which this letter was cut and that this passage refers to the very common Teutonic custom of casting lots by means of runes? This explanation of *endestæf* gains probability from the use of *âwritten*, which means primarily, and in this period of literature generally "einritzen", "eingraben", then "aufzeichnen", "aufschreiben". Then *on rûne* and *on rîmcraeft* corresponds most aptly to this lot-casting, for counting was a part of the mysterious process, as is clear in A. 1105 where *teledon* is used. I imagine that these men, greedy for slaughter, had marked the little-staves of the men, by cutting them, with runes and skill in numbers, that is that there was a little staff distinguished by some mark, most probably a rune for each man and that these little staves by some process of lot-casting unknown to us, were to determine, which of the prisoners should first lose his life, A. 132. In a word this seems to me to refer to lot-casting by means of runes, and with this same process I identify "tan" in A. 1101 ff. to which after this necessary digression I now return.

The suggestive word *wisian*, which is used for instance of the pilot's showing the way to the vessel and presupposes some power, that will show them a way of escape from their perplexity, seems to convey an idea, which the words *hluton hellcrâfum hêðengildum*, *teledon betwînum*, serve to fortify, that this whole method of arriving at a decision was an appeal to some secret power, be he divinity or devil, and came within the province of what was afterwards known as the "black art". This art of devils, or of those, who were long considered

his servants, is found again in *galdorcræftum* A. 166, the magic art, which the Jews used against Christ and in the *drýcræftum* A. 766, with which the elders of the people claimed that Christ had accomplished the miracle of extorting a declaration of the true God from the stone images of angels. So too magicians *drýas* A. 34 concerted by means of false or cunning power *þurh dwolcraeft* A. 34 the bitter drink, which made beasts of men. The devil speaks of St. Andrew as *æglæcan*, which Grein translates Zauberer. This translation, taken in connection with *aclæccraeftum* (Hexenkünsten), seems to me to be correct; although applied to the devil himself, the word seems to mean monster. These frequent allusions in Andreas (for they do not occur in Elene) to magic, magicians and their methods and uniformly unfavorably show not only the prevalence of some belief in, or rather dread of a genus of beings and their art, but its indissoluble union with wickedness, if not with the source of wickedness, and furnish a method of explaining events of shady purport and not easily understood, that at once placed the actors beyond the pale of ordinary humanity and justified failure in contending against them.

The lot-casting belonged to this category of works. The branch passed over an old companion i. e. the lot fell upon him. This peculiar expression must be closely associated with the method being described. The assembly having thus solved their difficulty readily accepted as a substitute for the father, the son, over whose life not only according to the customs of the Mermidonians, but according to the rights of the Anglo-saxons the father had absolute control (Kemble I, 198), and but for the intervention of God A. 1145 the assembly would no doubt have adjourned in order to partake of the long desired meal; but the hornhalls remained empty, the guest chambers, for the cry of despair and the proclamation of the heralds published abroad their misery; and those more wise sat apart for counsel and incited each other to give good advice to which the devil alone replied, causing the arrest of St. Andrew.

D. Punishment.

There are few instances of the methods of applying law revealed in the poems Andreas and Elene, in fact no occasion

for such revelation, but several indications of the punishments in vogue and several hints as to the methods of inflicting them. The reference for instance, to the punishment of Judas, whom the queen had received as a hostage *tô gîste* E. 600, a word which suggests the means employed to extort confessions from criminals. Judas had refused to answer the questions she had asked. For this stubbornness and persistency in evil he was ordered by the queen to be thrown in *drŷgne sêað*. The Acta Sanctorum read: *jussit eum mitti in lacum siccum, usque in septem dies, sic ut custodiretur a custodibus.* The further description of his punishment was doubtless drawn from the Anglosaxons. He was fastened with fetters, *clommum beclungen* E. 695 ff. and was compelled to remain seven nights in baleful imprisonment (*under hearm locan*) and to endure the torture of hunger *hungre beþrêatod*. This lack of any sustenance (*metelêas*) is particularly emphasized as forming the most intolerable feature of the torture, for this is given as the ground of his desire for release, that he was worn out by the enmity of hunger *hêanne fram hungres genîðlan*, and (in the next line) that hunger prevents him from resisting longer *for hungre* E. 703. Of course this varied and repeated reference to hunger as a part of the punishment by confinement, must have been based upon an existing actuality in the punishment of that day. Strange to say Grimm nowhere mentions this in his very full list of punishments among the German races.

The imprisonment of St. Matthew and St. Andrew was probably drawn from the source of this legend, probably a Latin translation of *πράξεις Ἀνδρέου καὶ Ματθεία* (cf. Ramhorst 6), but the details are largely of Anglosaxon coloring. St. Matthew was bound, blinded A. 48 ff. and thrown into prison, from which *of carcerne* A. 57, *under hearmlocan* A. 95, he lifts up his voice in prayer. St. Matthew and his followers were fastened in fetters in the prison, *on carcerne clommum fæste*, or in chains *bendum fæstne* A. 184. The prison was guarded by seven keepers A. 995 and other keepers were inside A. 1005. That it was a dark place or dungeon is mentioned in A. 1007 *under heolstorlocan*, a court of lamentation *gnornhofe* A. 1010 and a fastness *fæstenne* A. 1036. The most singular allusion to the doorway of the prison as *hamera geneorc* A. 1079 is

capable of a double interpretation, either it refers to the method of fastening the door, perhaps with nails or in some kindred way, or it is an expression for the door itself. In this latter case, what would be the suggestion in alluding to the door, as the work of the hammers? My own theory is this. The prison of Judas' was a well, a kind of pit or dungeon. The word describing Judas' prison is also applied to the cave of the winds, and the word *under heolstorlocan* A. 1007 applied alike to Judas' prison and the dark abyss of hell seems to indicate a cave or dungeon. I picture this prison of St. Matthew then as some kind of *natural* cave or pit, to which of course the covering or door was necessarily artificial and this I think is expressed by the *hamera geweorc*, that is, the part made artificially or by the carpenters' skill. St. Andrew was also punished *under heolstorschâwan* A. 1255 (in dem Höhlendunkel Gn.) and was chained *clommum belegdon* A. 1562. It can be no tenable objection to the theory, that St. Andrew's prison was a dungeon or cave, that St. Andrew saw the stone columns from his prison A. 1496, for even if there were not the possibility of this through some opening in the door, the inconsistency would not be greater than to speak of the prison as dark, when the opening, through which one could see external objects must let in some of the external light. More inconsistent than either is the fact, that St. Matthew, who had been blinded (A. 48.) *saw* St. Andrew and his companions A. 1015.

The tortures, to which St. Andrew was subjected, and the pains with which his body was racked, until the blood poured from his body and the bones were broken and the hair of his head was strewn along the stone paved-streets A. 1221 ff. serve the double purpose in the recital of portraying the cruelty of this heathen people, and the power of God who could heal all these wounds A. 1479 and make the fields rejoice in the fruits of St. Andrew's sufferings A. 1450.

Crucifixion was a form of punishment unknown to the Anglosaxons and hence they most frequently describe it in the vocabulary of hanging, which, in common with all Teutonic peoples, they well knew (Gm. Ra. 682. A. 1). The conception of crucifixion was borrowed from Biblical literature, or teaching, which emphasized of course the disgrace and humiliation of

such a punishment, and this notion — death with disgrace — was to be conveyed. Hanging was perhaps considered a more disgraceful and harder (?) death than beheading. (Gm. Ra. 687). and hence was inflicted primarily on slaves, while beheading was substituted in the case of nobles. Even after this distinction of class in the application of the punishment was lost, it retained its impress of greater contumely and was well fitted to convey to the Teutonic mind the shame heaped upon Christ.

Âhōn. To hang (to hang up), as a means of execution occurs. E. 180, 205, 210, 445, 453, 475, 671, 687, 718, 798, 934, 1076, while *hōn* occurs in the same sense E. 424, 852. *Galga* the terminus technicus for the implement of execution is found in *on galgan* E 179, 480, 719, A. 1329, and *of gealgan* in A. 1411, and the phrase *gealgan þchte*, a mixed figure A. 968. It need hardly be mentioned, that there are numerous references to the crucifixion, that do not apply to hanging, but these are derived from Christian sources. Compare for example the frequent use of *rod*, wood or cross. But even in connection with this word we occasionally meet the language of hanging E. 1075. A. 969 &c.

§ 4. War and Warriors.

In the short compilation of all that could be ascertained (p. 35) about the classes, it was seen that *eorlas* and *æðelingas* were frequently used of soldiers particularly those, who encamped around the king, or attended the queen on her expeditions. The individual appellations for "man" are often used in the sense of "soldier" but there are words that give this notion more distinctly. Thus *wīga* E. 63. 150. and *wīgend* E. 106. A. 1097. 1205 though in E. 984 it seems to refer to the king. *Rinc* E. 46, A. 1118 &c. has the additional meaning of hero. *Dugoðe ond geogoðe* A. 152 is no doubt a formula to include the whole following of a king or leader. The *dugoðe* A. 125, E. 450, 1093, 1160, conveying the notion of capacity and usefulness, of particular value, perhaps being applied to the heavenly hosts E. 81, are presumably the stronger, the more experienced, according to Köhler (p. 20) corresponding to the knights of the Middle Ages, while *geogoð* would represent the esquires.

Geogod E. 638, 1265 is the period of youth, with no military reference, which occurs in the formula in Andreas 152, 1124 (cf. A. 1617). In the army it is possible to recognize some divisions and to discover certain functions, belonging to certain members of the military organization. *Âr* and *boda* (p. 39) are used: the former of the ambassadors sent by Helen to report the discovery of the cross E. 981, 996, 1007, and in E. 1088 of the bishop Quiriacus, who delivers, in prayer, Helen's desires to the Deity; the latter of the emissaries sent to recover the cross. E. 262, 551. Both terms seem to denote those, who bore the messages of one king to another, to which *boda* adds a certain power of execution.

Jeðan. E. 35 is the infantry, but as these terms are not used with military exactness, it is here used in the broader sense of army. The *burgwigendra* E. 34 are the defenders of the city or castle, the "home guard" or the garrison. The *hyrdas* A. 1079. 1085, were the guards on duty at the prison, in which St. Matthew was confined the warriors *rincas* E. 46. 1114, battle warriors *hilderincas* E. 263, (*gûðrincas* A. 155) or as they are also called heroes *heardingas* E. 25, 130 were the comrades-in-arms of the king *gûðgelécan* E. 43. They are also named trusted companions *winemagas* E. 1016 or *eaxlgestealna* E. 64. This word, shoulder-companions, intimates the the serried files of an army, as it was then drawn up, and evidences the comradeship based upon a partnership in dangers and community of duties. Of the leaders or generals in the army except the king, we have here no information, for the allusion to the old companion *ealdgesiða* as at the head of the army *heriges on ôre* A. 1106 or as *uðweota*, that is counsellor, is intended to express rather his honored and important stand among his compatriots, than any generalship of the forces, and even if the latter be the case, there is no elucidation of his military duties. It can but make a rather singular impression, that the cannibals of the poem of Andreas, who are by no means placed in a favorable light in other respects, should be represented as possessing military equipment and discipline, even though, so modified as to indicate some of their uncouth and barbarous qualities. Applied to them I find such expressions as *gârum gehyrsted / lungre under linde*. A. 45. 46.

Duguð samnade

hæðne hildfrecan, hêapum þrungon
 gûðsearo gullon, gâras hrysedon
 bolgenmôde under bordhrêoðan

A. 125 ff.

grædige gûðrincas A. 155. Their chiefs are called *folces frum-gâras*, A. 1070.

beornas cômon

wiggendra þrêat, wiegum gengan
 on mearum môdige mæðelhêgende
 æseum dealle

A. 1096 ff.

gûðfrec guma A. 1119. *hæðene herigweardas* A. 1126. *here sam-nodan* A. 1123. *môdige maguþegnas* A. 1138.

âhlêopon hildfrome heriges brehtme
 ond tô weallgeatum wîgend þrungon
 cêne under cumblum corðre mycle
 tô þâm orlege ordum ond bordum, A. 1204 ff.

Æfter þâm wordum côm werod unmâete
 lyswe lârsmeoðas, mid lindgecerode
 bolgenmôde;

A. 1221 ff.

hæleða þrêat, duguð unlytel A. 1271/2; *folctogan* leaders of the people, generals, refer in A. 1460 to St. Andrew's adversaries *ondasacan* A. 1461, who lead him to prison, and represent apparently no special rank. Thus we have a whole series of military terms, usually found more worthily bestowed, applied to these barbarians. The Teutonic mind was unable to think any people so crude as to be destitute of military organization and found its only means of differentiating this organization from their own in such words as heathen, fierce, greedy &c.

The weapons used by this people were the spear, *gâr* A. 32, 43 &c. and *æsc*, A. 1099, *ord*, A. 1207, the sword, *bil*, A. 51, 78 &c. and *sweord*, A. 71. 1134. Then the defensive armour was the shield, *bord* A. 128, *rond*, A. 412 (the formula *ordum ond bordum* occurs A. 1207) *lind*, A. 46. They had their insignia of war too, *under cumblum* A. 1206.

In the graphic description of a battle given in E. 105—148. Constantine bade the soldiers be awakened at dawning and the battle-standard, *heorn-cumbol*, be raised. The holy tree, the beacon of God should be borne before him in the midst of the

enemy. The kings were always preceded by a standard or banner (Gm. Ra. 241) and particularly in times of war was the standard around which the men could rally, of great importance. The general name for this banner was *būf*, which occurs E. 123, but by degrees other battle standards usurped places in the ranks, so that it is often difficult to determine the nature of these signs of war. *Heorncumbol*, which here has reference to the sign of battle (Feldzeichen) means as Grimm has pointed out (A. and E. p. 92) the sign of the sword. What this sword insignia was we have no means on determining. In Andreas 4, 1206 we find *cumbol*, tessera militaris, and in E. 25 the word *hercumbol*, which one would have expected here. *Eofurcumbol* has been discussed under mythology (p. 16). The trumpets sounded loud before the army, *býman sungon hlûde for hergum* E. 109/10. The hornblowers E. 54 and heralds E. 54. 550, A. 1158 had among their duties to attract attention and make the orders of their leaders known. This noise of trumpets at the beginning of battle was alike the signal of attack and its inspiring accompaniment. The raven, that rejoices at this work, the eagle, that watches the battle and the wolf, that adds to its terrors by his dismal howl are attendants of battle in general among the Anglosaxons and have been discussed (p. 14) in relation to mythology. The wolf and eagle proclaim E. 28 each in his own tongue, the conflict, that draws nigh, and the raven's cry mingles with the campwood *campwudu* E. 57 of the advancing Romans E. 52. The terror of battle spread, *hildegeso stôd* E. 113. It is a favorite turn of the poet's to lend moment to the events transpiring by depicting their effects upon their actors or spectators, and nothing gives more clearly the seriousness of the jeopardy either in war or storm, than to mention, that fear spread, embracing the stoutest hearts of men, who prided themselves on bravery. The king, whose duty imposed upon him a watchful and protecting care of his men had been visited by mortal terror, as he saw the forces far outnumbering his own. He had been reassured by divine interposition but on the eve of battle the soldiers were seized by dread consequent upon a conflict terrible in its devastation and fearful in its uncertain issues, enhanced by a recognition of their own numerical inferiority.

There was a crash of shields and a rush of men, a hard combat and the fall of the masses, as soon as they joined battle.

þær wæs borda gebrec ond beorna geþree
heard handgewing ond herga gring
syððan hēo earhfære ârest mētton. E. 113 ff.

Bord, the shield is found in the formula *wordum and bordum* E. 24, which signifies the noise made upon raising the battle standard. I consider that we have here a sort of formula (notice for instance, the rhyme) for the opening of battle. It can not refer to a hand-to-hand combat in which the hostile shields clash against each other, for the hurling of spears in the next line would have been futile, if not impossible, at such close quarters.

Perhaps there is no necessity to seek any other meaning for *earhfære*, than Anprall der Geschosse Gn. or Kampf Z., but it may have reference to the custom of sending an arrow around to summon the people, in any time of danger or sudden attack (Ra. 162), as in E. 44. Should *earhfære* E. 116 have this signification, then the passage would indicate the noise, the zeal and the immediate result, with which the soldiers responded to the summons, as soon as they recognized it. This would then fall in its natural place, depicting the rush of attack and its noise, the effort in hurling their javelins and the success; the next lines then expanding and dilating upon this charge. The showers of arrows are discharged against a people doomed to death, and the spears fly over the yellow-shields and the arrows (war-makes) are impelled by the finger's power 117 ff. Then the impetuous enemy begin to break the Romans' shields and to use their swords (Cil. E. 122). At this juncture the standard *puf* was lifted; the banner *regn* E. 124 (both meaning the cross) and the song of victory raised. It can hardly be contended that the army had fought up to this time without any standard, which would have been as repugnant to Roman custom, as unintelligible to a Teutonic poet, but that this referred to the new standard, in which was the promise of victory. The golden helmet and the spears shone on the field of battle. The next lines depict the defeat and flight of the Huns, the death of some, the narrow escape of others, their hot pursuit

by the Romans, and sums up their disaster in the melancholy words:

lythwôn beeƿom
Hûna herges hâm eft þanon E. 142 f.

Some mention of the weapons may conclude this paragraph.

The shield-*bord*, board, implies, as does *lind* that this part of the armour was made of wood. It occurs several times in the formula of great antiquity, *bordum* and *ordum* E. 235, 1187, A. 1207. The *geolrand* E. 118 and *rand* E. 50, literally yellow-border and border, are here put the part for the whole. The border of the shield served as we know from the Gnomic verses (Monology, cf. Grein, Bibliothek der Angelsächs. Poesie II, 346) for a protection or guard for the fingers, *rand sceal on scylde fæst fingra gebeorh* 38.

So too *bordhrêða* E. 122, A. 125, B. 2204, which means according to Heyne, the cover of the shield, according to Zupitza an ornament of the shield, is used for the shield itself. For sword we have *bi* E. 122. 257 and of the flaming weapon used to defend Paradise, *sweord* E. 757 and *brogdenmél* E. 759 (das geschwungene, gezogene Schwert Gm., das geschwungene Schwert Gn., das Schwert mit gewundenem Zeichen, Z.).

For helmet we have *eofurcumbol*, *grima* E. 125, *grima-helm* E. 258. The Teutons attached much importance to the helm, as is proven by their application of it so frequently in similes, and particularly in reference to God and the king.

þonne rond ond hand

on here felda helm ealgodon A. 96 f.

shows too this importance, which arouse largely no doubt from the vulnerable portion of the body thus protected. If Grimm is right however in his explanation of *on þâm hysebeorðre* A. 1144, which Grein evades rather than explains by translating it Knabe, then the helmet had a superstitious value too as it protected the caul, which antiquity reckoned of peculiar worth and warriors wore on their heads under the helmet, as a charm against danger, particularly of mortal wounds on the head.

For spear besides, *gar*, *ord*, *aesc* is used *daroðas* (*daroðaesc*) E. 140. Moreover I find *yr* bow E. 1260, besides several words for arrows, *hildenædran* E. 119. 141, *flânas* (seuras) E. 117. In

addition to the helmet and shield is the armour *hyrst* E. 263, that is the corslet *byrne* E. 257, coat of mail *hildeserce* E. 234, *wælhenc* E. 24.

§ 5. Sea-Life.

When one considers the position of the Anglosaxons homes, whether as individual tribes before their migration or after they had taken root in England, which was the fertile soil of their literary productions, he can not be surprised, that an intimate acquaintance with the sea, its phenomena, whether attractive or repulsive, and all that concerned it was one of the characteristic marks of their literature. Of the sea numerous poems furnish descriptions and the language of the sea meets all the copious demands of its fickle nature with the most graphic pictures and striking tropes. Merbach (Das Meer in der Dichtung der Angelsachsen. Breslauer Dissertation) has given us a complete and valuable treatment of this subject and rendered my own task here easier. There are two sea voyages, that deserve special attention. The one which Helen undertakes at the request of Constantine, and the other that St. Andrew enters upon in accordance with the command of God. Besides these two voyages, there are numerous words either in conversation, or in the development of the stories, that furnish material for a description of sea-life cf. A. 195 ff. 386 ff. &c. St. Andrew goes at break of day over the sand-hills *ofer sandhleoðu* A. 236 to the sea-flood *to sas faruðe* A. 236 on the sand *on gréote* A. 238. Here we have the designations of the Anglosaxons for the beach. The phrase *on gréote* A. 238. 254. 849 is strikingly characteristic of a beach, which consists of shells and pebbles ground by the lashing waves. The word means something ground and is nearly related to N. E. grit. The word occurs only once in Elene and then in the derived meaning of earth or sand E. 835. More general is the word *stæð-* shore *on stæðe* E. 232, *geofenes stæð* E. 227. Related to these are paraphrases for the same, or expressions for the water bordering on the land. Thus *faroð*, which means the flood or current (e. g. A. 236) is used in A. 255 *on faroðe* of the helmsman, who is ready to start on the journey and

in E. 251 *æt sâsearoðe*. In both cases it represents the coast, that is where the currents or waves beat or break. The words *æt wendelsâ* E. 231, *auf'm Grenzmeere*, seem to me capable of a twofold interpretation. This boundary sea may indicate the sea lying between Helen and the cross, that is separating two lands, or *wendel* may easily refer and particularly in connection with *on stâðe* to the varying line dividing land and water, that is the border of the sea hence at shore, near the coast. In the same sense *on waroðe* A. 240, 263, is used. The high bank is *sandhleoðu* A. 236, *ceald cleofu* A. 310, *stânhleoðu* A. 1579, while a cape or promontory is *næs* A. 1307, 1712.

Concerning embarkation and freighting vessels information, though not exact, is by no means lacking. They loaded the ships with coats of mail, shields and spears, with armed soldiers, with men and women E. 234 ff. in which description we have two formulas *bordum ond ordum, werum ond wifum*. And then the high ships stride over the foaming sea. Thus is described the departure of Helen's naval expedition. In Andreas occur the phrases *in cêl stîgan* A. 349, *on holm stîgan* A. 429, *sâ beorgas sêcan* A. 308, *cêl gestigan, ceoles neosan* A. 310 *to flote gyrwan* A. 1698 for the notion embark.

The sea itself presents the greatest variety of names, which are in themselves interesting and preeminently indicative of that familiarity with the sea, to which allusion has been made. The nomenclature consisted not merely of words, which refer directly to the sea, but also of designations more poetic and expressive drawn from its nature and inhabitants; and these figurative terms, these descriptions of the sea, rather than simple names for it are the most frequent in the poetry of the Anglo-saxons. The word *sâ* occurs only twice E. 240, 729 in Elene and rarely in Andreas (A. 236); *brim* in the sense of sea and with no reference to its narrower meaning "brandende, bewegte Flut" (Merbach 4), occurs several times; *lugo* E. 1269 as the name of the rune may have a more restricted meaning than sea. *Geofon*, which Müller (Haupt's Zeitschrift I, 95) considers as connected with the sea goddess Gefjon occurs E. 227, 1201. Merbach sees in the fact that this word occurs only twice in composition (*geofonhus* Gen. 1321, *geofonflood* Azar. 125) further proof of the mythological origin of the word. *Sund* E. 228, 251

is a frequently used word in poetry. Grein compares *holm*, denoting the appearance of the sea as rising, and not as a flat surface with Russian *cholm* and Latin *cumen*, both denoting elevation. This idea is strengthened in *ofer hēanne holm*, over the high sea E. 983.

Wære bewrecen A. 269 and *wære bestemed* A. 487 indicate flood or current. Compare too *hærn* A. (269?) 531; *earhgeblond* A. 239 Meeresgemisch; *geblond* alone occurs A. 532.

Combinations with *strēam* are frequent, *lagustrēam* A. 423, *brimstrēam* A. 348, 903, *geofenes strēam* A. 852, *firgenstrēam* A. 390, 1573, *sāstrēam* A. 196. The constant motion of the sea, the approaching waves or billows, resembling a stream or current is thus depicted. There is no reason for thinking that these currents had anything to do with the currents and countercurrents actually existing in the ocean.

Another series of expressions represents the sea as criss-crossed by roads, paths or streets, used either by ships, or the denizens of the deep; so *wæg* with *ffel* E. 237, *holm* A. 382, *bæð* A. 223, 573, E. 244; *rād* with *hran* A. 266, *swan* E. 397, A. 196, *brim* A. 1264, 1584; *lād* with *sā* A. 511, *lagu* A. 314, *ea* A. 441; *stræt* with *faroð* A. 311, 900, *mere* E. 242; *faru* with *strēam* A. 1378, *ŷð* A. 902, *hwaðu* with *seol* A. 1716.

The sea is also mentioned as a bathing place for the fish *fiscesbæð* A. 293.

The following expressions are also entertaining, *hwæles ēðel* A. 274, the native domain of the whale; *garsecges begong* A. 530, *garsecg* is for *gasric*, by transposition of *r* and *s*, *gas* = *gais*, Old Norse *geisa* = to chafe, rage hence the word means rager, Sweet (Engl. Stud. II, 315); *ārvela* A. 855 (cf. 10), *ŷða geswing* A. 352, *ŷða geþring* A. 368, *flodes wylm* A. 367, *flodwylm* A. 516, *strēam wylm* A. 495, *wæteres wylm* A. 452, *ŷða geþræc* A. 824, *holm þracu* A. 467, E. 728, *wæteres þrim* A. 1262, *ŷða genealc* A. 259, *geotend gegrind* A. 1592, *hwælmere* A. 370, *sæholm* A. 527; *egesa upp ástod* A. 445, may be used for the waves themselves; A. 375 on the contrary is the terror (cf. Merbach p. 12) *lagufæsten*, *sæfæsten* E. 249, *dēop gelād* A. 190.

In Andreas (cf. 201 ff.) the waters are cold (which is not mentioned in Elene), and salty A. 196. References are made to the sea foam, as in E. 237 to the wide expanse E. 729 to the

color, *græg* A. 000 black *blæc* A. 1263, to the brilliant reflection
brûne *ŷða* A. 519, to the bottom of the sea A. 393, 424.

The island of the Mermidonians is *igland* A. 15. Seastorms are alluded to twice, once on the voyage to the cannibal island, and again in the attempt of St. Andrew to allay the fears of his followers, where he relates the incident of the storm on the sea of Galilee.

In the description of the first (A. 369—380 and A. 392 ff.) is to be noticed, that just as in war the wolf, the raven and the eagle denote the approaching conflict, so the impending battle of the waves is harbingered by the swordfish, which sports gladly through the raging waters and the grey sea gull, greedy for slaughter and describing its circles around the ship. In describing the commotion and turbulence of the waters, the designation *hwælmere* is applied to the sea thus completing the trinity of attendants of the storm, and offering a perfect pendant to the picture of war. The picture of nature's aspect is tersely, but strongly drawn. The darkness, the increasing winds, the grinding waves, the disturbed waters are the outlines of an easily completed picture. Then the terror of the waves spread among the men and the fear of not reaching land seizes them.

Naturally great importance was attached to the turbulent surging of roaring billows, and this was accompanied by a corresponding state of agitation, excitement and fright in the minds of those who had to withstand the conflict. Thus following the description in A. 375 ff. we find,

wæteregese stôd
 þrêata þryðum, þegnas wurdon
 âcolmôde, ênig ne wênde
 þæt hê lifgende land begête.

Place by the side of these last lines the words of the description in the Heliand,

selton in wândun
 lagn-liðandea an land kuman
 thurk thes wederes gewin Hel. 2918 ff.

and we have one of the chief causes of terror emphasized. Or further after 394 ff. we have:

duguð is geswenced
môdigra mægen miclum gelysgod

Or in describing the storm on the sea of Galilee, which is given only in bold outline; A. 447 ff:

beornas wurdon
forhte on môde; friðes wilnedon
miltia tō mærum.

In a word there seems to have been to these people, whose familiarity with the sea had revealed to them its terrors, a sickening dread of the horrors of a storm and an unsettling and impatient uneasiness in the face of its dangers. The parallelism between their perturbed bosoms and the ruffled waves, rest and joy, that took possession of them, as the ominous clouds disappeared and the waves were stilled. For instance,

ŷðum stilde
wæteres wylmum; windas þræade
sâ sessade, smylte wurdon
merestrêama gemeotu, þâ ûre môd âhlôh
A. 452 ff.

mere swoðerade
ŷða ongin eft oneyrde
hrêoh holmþracu. Dâ þâm hâlgan wearð
æfter gryrehwile gâst geblissod
A. 465 ff.

Compare also A. 531, 435, 1587.

Of the end of the voyage, after having withstood the dangers of the sea including that of hunger A. 312, the miraculous nature of the landing of St. Andrew renders an account impossible. In Elene the description is of no great moment E. 248 ff. The usual word for harbor *hýð*, which occurs here, probably meant nothing more than a place protected from the winds and suited for landing, perhaps a kind of bay or inlet.

Having thus disposed of the sea and its boundaries, the storm and its accompaniments, there remain to be mentioned the ships and their appurtenances, and the crews. The simple word *scip* A. 240 n. ö. does not occur in Elene, where *naca* A. 291 is also missing. Designations of the ship as something swimming or floating are pertinent, *aegflota* A. 258, *wægflota*

E. 246, A. 487; *séleodan* A. 500 is to be compared with *sélidan* A. 471. The simple *lid*, ship occurs e. g. A. 403 and *ŷðlid* A. 278, 445. By metonymy *céol* E. 250, A. 361, *bord* E. 238, *ŷðbord* A. 298, *brimwudu* E. 241.

I am inclined to see in *bord* E. 238, where it is spoken of as receiving the blows of the waves *ŷða swengas* E. 239, a figurative epithet drawn from the shield in battle, rather than a simple use of *bord* for the hull of the ship. It deserves mention too that *earhgeblond* E. 239 betrays as much familiarity with the battle as the sea.

The most striking allusion to ships was as horses, a figure borrowed from their every day life. Thus *hengest* with *brim* A. 513, *wæg* E. 236, *faroð* E. 226, *sé* A. 488 and *mearh* with *sâ* E. 245, A. 267.

Moreover such terms as *brimpisa* E. 238, A. 1701, *merpisa* A. 257 may have some association with this figure; *hringestæfna* E. 248 has reference to the rings on the prow, by which the vessels were made fast and *brontstæfn* A. 504 has a kindred meaning.

As a home on the waves we have *ŷðhofu* E. 252, while A. 1713 *wégbæl* suggests a floor on the sea.

Gescirpla A. 250 means dress, garb, and not ship (cf. Merbach p. 35).

The parts and appurtenances of the ship, as given in Andreas and Elene are the following, *bâtes fæðm* A. 444 hold, or bottom; *stefn* A. 495 the bow or stem, *on bolcan* A. 305 in trabe gubernaculi, *ofer bolcan* A. 602 trans gubernaculum, that is referring respectively to the position of the helmsman and the helm (Gm., A. a. E. XXXIV).

The keel is *céol* E. 250, and the *hull*(?) *bord* E. 238.

Then there is the anchor E. 252, but to make a ship fast is *sælan* E. 228. That the ship had a mast, and perhaps only one, as Merbach thinks, is indicated by *be mæste* A. 465. The sails are mentioned A. 504 and E. 245. The ropes are called *strengas* A. 374 and the rudder is mentioned A. 359, 396.

The crews of the ships in Elene were composed of the warriors, who attended her on her voyage and hence there is no definite information as to the duties of sailors. In Andreas, where God and his two angels man the ship, the references

are more instructive. As noticed above (p. 8) God assumed the Woden-like function of pilot. This art of showing the vessel its path on the deep A. 381, seems to have been of great account among the Anglosaxons, for the author of Andreas glorifies it in A. 481 ff. and makes it the basis of St. Andrew's desire for the pilot's friendship. Never had he (St. Andrew) seen a better sailor, one more skilled and wiser, and from him he desired to learn the art of steering, for in all his sixteen voyages, he had never seen a pilot, who could so skilfully direct a boat. God and his angels had before been likened to seafarers *scipfērendum* A. 250, *ēaſiðendum* A. 251 and to the seafarers *heaðoliðendum* A. 426, God furnishes aid, while *faroðrīdende* A. 440 has an equivalent meaning. *Lidweurd* A. 244 and *scipweard* A. 297 exhibit the protecting solicitation of the sailors.

The doubtful word *scealc* in *underscealcum* A. 512 is probably to be interpreted sailors.

The adjectives *lidwērig* A. 482 and *sānērig* A. 827 picture the arduousness (*is se drohtað strang* A. 313) of a sailor's duties and the unavoidable monotony of sealife. Why Merbach should translate *frome* E. 261, as referring to sailors, or give *selran* A. 471 any other significance than better is not clear (cf. Merbach p. 38).

Several references to the motion of the ship deserve notice for example *scriþan* E. 237, a figure suggesting equine movement.

<i>brecean ofer bæðweg brimwudu, snyrgan under swellingum, sāmearh plegean wadan wægflotan</i>	<i>E. 244 ff.</i>
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The contest with the waves, through which the ship makes a path, furnishes occasion for several similes. The ship glides along under swelling sails like some bird, perchance a swan. This figure we have very prettily given elsewhere:

<i>is þes bât fulscrid fareð fâmigheals, fugole gelicost glideð on geofone.</i>	<i>A. 496 ff.</i>
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The *sāmearh plegean* recalls the prancing steed and the *wadan wægflotan* suggests the swimmer. This completes the

view of sealife, except a reference in 300 ff. to the passage money, which is discussed later (p. 133). Suffice it here to say that the language not only presupposes the habit of paying fare but intimates the existence of a fixed tariff, A. 297.

§ 6. Natural Phenomena.

In close union with the descriptions of the storm, as noticed in the last paragraph, stand the descriptions of various phenomena of nature, which are usually given in the most poetic language, under the garb of which however it is often easy to detect the agencies of personified beings, whether considered as gods, fates, or merely revelations of these superhuman powers. Many of these have already been grouped around the examination of the word *woma* (p. 10).

One of the most entertaining and poetical conceptions of the Anglosaxons was that of the sun, with its motions across the sky. The Teutonic forefathers were close observers of nature, even if unsound physicists and astronomers.

Pâ com morgentorht
bêacna beorhtost ofer bremo sneowan
hâlig of heolstre; heofoncandel blâc
ofer lagoflôdas.

A. 241 ff.

This is sunrise. The morning torch, the brightest of beacons came over the deep out of its dark prison, this brilliant candle of heaven over the floods of the sea. The most singular thing about this description is, that it came of *heolstre*, which indicates that the sun was quenched in his wanderings (perhaps in the sea) and reappeared from his nightly imprisonment as a relit candle, or shone in darkness, until the Lord allowed him to shine again.

ôð þæt dryhten forlêt dægcandelle
scîre scînan, sceadu, sweðerodon
wonn under wolenum. Pâ côm wederes blæst
hâdor heofonlêoma ofer hofu blican

A. 837 ff.

The disappearance of the shadows, the darkness that veiled the earth under the clouds, upon the appearance of the sun exposes the deep impression that this enmity of light and darkness had made upon the Teutonic mind — a conflict that

found its broadest exposition in the contrast between the kingdom of light (heaven) and that of darkness (hell).

niht helmade

brûn wann oferbrâd beorgas stêape A. 1307 f.

shows the conception of the prevailing darkness of night. The earth had put on its helmet of darkness and drawn down the visor.

Now the phrase *niht helm tôglâd* E. 78, A. 126 is clear and wonderfully expressive. *Niht helm* is the helmet of night and *tôglâd* is particularly suited to express the breaking or splitting of a helmet. Cf. *gûðhelm tôglâd* B. 2488 (der Helm Onganþeows gieng durch Eofers Schlag auseinander. Heyne, Glossar). In Elene it is the presence of the shining angel that caused, by the rays of his own celestial brilliancy the helmet of darkness to split, and in Andreas it was the light of approaching day. The reference to the sun as the *wederes blast* or as the *weder candel*, which grew dark during the storm A. 372, shows that the Anglosaxons were accustomed to associate the sun, from whose face they no doubt read the weather prognostications, with its states.

ôð þæt beorht gewât

sunne swegeltorht tô sete glidan A. 1249, 1306.

Until the bright sun, the torch of heaven, glides to his seat under the mists of the cliff. The sun made a journey from his dark cave over the sea and cities, until he glided to his resting place, when the even was come with a noise A. 1247, or wandered under the waves *under wâdu scriðan* A 1459.

The divisions of the day were regulated by the course of the sun and the time of day most frequently given by the position of the sun. Thus at dawn or at daybreak *on ûhtan mid ærdæge* E. 105 marks the beginning of the days activities. The hostile crowd gathers around St. Andrew's prison, as soon as the light appears A. 124 St. Andrew sets out for the sea shore at break of day A. 235 and reaches the ship, as the sun comes out of his dark abode A. 241 and St. Andrew awakes on the island of the Mermidonians as the sun came to shine over the houses A. 835, which designates some later hour, possibly noon, and St. Andrew suffers until sunset. We find in Elene *tîd* used to denote the hour, thus ôð þâ nigoðan tîd

E. 870 and *wæs þā nigoðe tið* E. 874, it was the ninth hour, that is, probably three o'clock.

The year is divided into seasons, spring *lencten* E. 1227, *sumer* 1228, fall is not mentioned, and *winter* E. 4, 633 for year in counting time.

Summer began on the 7th of May, making the seasons granting their equal duration of three months each, begin on the 7th of May, 7th of August, 7th of November, and 7th of February, which would make midsummer fall about the 21st of June, the time of the summer solstice, midwinter about the time of the winter solstice December 21st, while the middle of fall and spring coincide very nearly with the autumnal and vernal equinoxes (Gm., A. u. E. XXIV und Nachträge 171). This is another proof of the exactness with which the events of nature were observed. Clouds are mentioned in appropriate occasions but strange to say, as Merbach establishes, mists or fogs were extremely rarely mentioned, indeed never, except in such indistinct and unemphatic phrases as under the misty ness (*naze*), *under niflan næs* A. 1307. This could not have been from an ignorance of fogs, but perhaps because they saw nothing in it, except the veriest opposition and danger, and had no appreciation for any poetry in it (Merbach p. 22). The wind on the contrary that filled the sails and drove the vessels over the sea, although an awful element in storm is mentioned in this connection A. 369 and as a symbol of instability E. 1270 ff.

The only accurate description of weather, apart from the storm, is the picture of extreme cold (A. 1257 ff.) when the snow bound the earth with the winters dress (literally with winter's hurlings). The weather (in the text weathers) grew cold with hard showers of hail. Rime and frost the hoary *hild-stapun*(?) locked the native land of the men, the seat of the people, the land was frozen with cold icicles and the torrent of water over the sea currents bridged with ice. It would be difficult to find a more poetic representation of cold.

§ 7. Social Relations.

Assuming for convenience, that the individual is the unit of society I desire to record here, first some of the references

to the individual man, then pass to the family relations, then to the association of men with each other and then add a few remarks on the foreigners, to whom reference is made.

The language descriptive of man is expressive and highly poetical. The body is by preference called *bâncofa* E. 1250, A. 1278, or *bânhûs* A. 1241, and the *bânhringas* A. 150 seems to indicate the frame or skeleton while *fleschoma* A. 160 is the covering of flesh. The body as such apart from life is called *hûs* E. 881 and has of course the usual names *lîc* E. 877, A. 1240 and *lîchoma* E. 737.

The only member of the body, that has a special description term is the eye *hêafdes segl* A. 50 *capitis solem*, and *hêafodgim*.

The Anglosaxons were fond of giving value to events by detailing the impressions they made, the effect upon the mind. Feelings, sentiments and emotions were factors, with which the poets loved to deal and hence their language abounded in terms for the seat of these affections and their natures. For soul the general name was *sâwl* E. 461, 564 which was one of the parts of the dual union forming life *lîc ond sâwl*. It is the dwelling place (*wic*) of the spirit *gâst* E. 1037 of the Holy Ghost E. 1144, and is located in the breast, E. 1038. *Hyge*, according to Grimm (A. u. E. XXXIX), referring to the wise bird Huginn, by which the highest god procured information, is used of heart E. 685, 809, 995, of soul E. 1082, 1169 (*Myne* is related in the same way to Muninn). *Sefa* E. 382 and *gehðu* A. 66 mean mind and thought; *hrêðer* E. 1145 and *brêost* E. 595 the location of the mind. *Willa* E. 193 is voluntas. *Môdsefa* E. 876 is heart, so also *syrðsefa* E. 98. *Ferhðloca*, *hrêðerloca* E. 86, *brêostloca* E. 1250 represent breast or bosom, as the seat of thought and emotion and hence the figurative expressions *hrêðerlocan onspannan* E. 86, *wordlocan onspannan* A. 470, *hordlocan onspéon* A. 671 and *wordhord onlûcan* A. 316, 470.

As to the occupations or employments of individuals besides in war and on the sea there are several passages, that deserve attention. It is not necessary to do more, than mention that prophet *mitga* E. 289, bishop *bisceop* E. 1052, A. 1651, and the apostles are mentioned. *Wita* E. 544 is a councellor, an

adviser of the king and probably a member of the council of state; the word *ƿoð weota* E. 347, A. 1103 has a kindred meaning. But it is more entertaining to learn something of the manual employments. There were those, who made the cross according to the directions of Constantine E. 104 ff. which required fine carpenter's work and that of jewellers, in order to set it with stones and mount it in gold. The services of jewellers were required too to ornament the true cross with gold, gems and precious stones and we are told, that they worked with artistic skill E. 1024 ff. Further Helen had the bridle ornamented with the holy nails E. 1197.

The temple built upon the spot consecrated by the discovery of the cross was of stone and erected by the most skilled stonemasons Helen could command, E. 1018 ff. On the contrary the church erected on the spot of the resurrection of the drowned Mermidonians was constructed by skillful carpenters, A. 1633. To pastoral or agricultural life there are no direct allusions. The fondness of home and landed possessions and a few isolated references, such as the use of the word *feoh*, which had come to denote possession E. 1270 or the borrowed simile of gratitude E. 357 ff. are the only clues Andreas and Elene furnish even of the acquaintance with such occupations.

Family relations are almost entirely unnoticed in the poems before us. The attachment to home, and their love of their native land, that have several times been noticed, in addition to a few words, give easy occasion to the imagination to expatiate on the family life, but the facts in these poems are exceedingly scanty. The father and mother A. 687 of Christ are called the *hâmsittende* A. 686 those, whose presence were the origin and centre of home. Simon and Jacob were born in the bonds of fraternal relationship *brôðorsybbum* A. 690. The unintelligible tangle, by which Judas is made the brother of the first martyr Stephen, the son of Symon and grandson of Sachias¹⁾ furnishes hardly more than the forms of address,

¹⁾ This confusion did not originate with Cynewulf. Cf. Die Kreuzeslegenden im Leabhar Breac. von Gust. Schirmer. St. Gallen 1886. Leipziger Dissertation. S. 12—13, 35—36.

in reference to family relations, *mîn swâs sunu* E. 447, *mîn swâs fæder* E. 517, *yuma ginga* E. 465, *hæleð mîn se lêofa* E. 511, *hyse lêofsta* E. 523. From these, in connection with the confidential conversation between Judas and his father, it might not be unjustifiable to draw a conclusion favorable to the confidence, paternal and filial love of the day. But it must be remembered that the characters just alluded to were all Jews, and hence any inference for the Anglosaxons is subject to limitation.

Under the Feudal System (p. 34) the meagre allusions to landed property were collected. The life of the people in one of these divisions or marks in their social relations forms the kernel of what follows. It was natural, where land, or at any rate arable land, was limited, that the people should congregate in villages or towns, thus accomplishing an economy of land and rendering their defence against marauding expeditions easier. The word *wic* for dwelling from *vicus*, a village, shows the prevalence of this habit. For city, a larger aggregation, occur the words *ceastre* from *castra*, and meaning no doubt at first the Roman camps, or cities founded on their sites, but afterwards applied to cities generally A. 40 939, and as an equivalent of *burh*, *byrig* A. 40, 975. *Burh* means a fortified place, hence a castle or city, in the latter sense alone does *byrig* seem to be used (cf. Kemble, S. in E. II, 550).

These fortifications rendered it easier to perform one of their most important duties, *eard weardigað ēðel healduð* A. 176, to protect his possession and hold his native heath. The place of assembly in these cities is several times mentioned, *meðelstede* A. 697, 1160 ff., *þingstede* A. 1099. The reference to the city as *nínburg* A. 1639, 1674, shows the friendliness and cordiality, prevailing in such a community. St. Andrew speaks of leaving the city of the Mermidonians and puts it so,

þæt hē þā goldburg of gifan wolde
secga seledrēam ond sinege strēon
beorht bēagselu. A. 1657 ff.

This description of that remarkable institution which seems to have united in itself a sort of casino, restaurant, royal apart-

ments and public hall is more characteristic of the life of the Anglosaxons, than of the Mermidonians, as we know them from Andreas. Conviviality, sociability, free and open friendly intercourse belong to this period of Teutonic life. The goldburg is the castle in which the king or ruler distributed gold and contains the hall from which it derives its name, for not only rings, but gold was distributed in the *bēagsalu*. The *secga seledrēum* A. 1658, which reflects that conviviality above alluded to, was highly valued by the Teutons. The hall, "wo im friedlichen kreise gewohnt, erzählt und gezecht wurde" (Gm., A. u. E. XXXVII), was a favorite meeting place of friends. The *wīnræced* A. 1161 indicates these chambers, where friends assembled. The *hornsalu* was probably named from the drinking horns. St. Andrew, who was about to renounce all these comforts and pleasures seems to have been a guest of the castle *goldburg*, for he was occupying the hall adorned with treasures. The whole conception of this building or series of buildings, with the guest-chambers, halls for convivial intercourse and for assemblies, a sort of meeting place for friends bears a most striking resemblance to our modern clubs. Have they perhaps some such origin?

The familiarity with the meadhall and particularly its festal board is indicated by the use of figures drawn from it. I have previously tried to show, that some of the descriptions of heaven were borrowed from this source. I now recall the sentence, which Grimm considered a proverb. It occurs in the description of the disastrous flood and smacks of flippancy under such circumstances.

meodu scerpen wearð
æfter symbeldæge A. 1528 f.

Whether the meaning is, "der Meth ward vergossen nach dem Schmausgelage", Gn., or the reference to the rather revolting spectacle of vomiting, Gm., it was no doubt borrowed from the halls of conviviality and is justified by its proverbial nature and intelligibility.

Pât wæs sorgbyrðen
biter bêorþegu; byrlas ne gældon
ombehtþegnas; þær wæs ælcum genôg
fram dægesorde drync sôna gearu! A. 1534 ff.

The sad nature of this beer reception, with which contrasts the attention of the waiters and the abundance of drink seems a most frivolous allusion to the jeopardy of life, to which the Mermaidians were exposed, but shows a marked familiarity with the buffets and beersalons of these old meadhalls.

In all business intercourse and at all times there has been some medium of barter and exchange. The kinds of possession of this period, in a modified sense the currency, are summed up and classified in Andreas. It is the question of paying the pilot the stipulated tribute *gafulrēdenne* A. 296, the prescribed payment *sceattas gescrifene* A. 297, of the ship's tariff, and St. Andrew replies, I have no acquired gold nor rich treasure, wealth of land nor abundance of locked rings, nor joints of wine that I may whet thy desire, thy will in the world as thou with word sayest (Baskerville).

To these forms of possible payment must be added *æplede gold* E. 1260, *bēaga lyt sincweorðunga* A. 271, 476, and *fæted-sinces* A. 478.

It makes an unpleasant impression, that St. Andrew, in trying to procure the friendship of the pilot, confesses that he has no treasure &c. Was it then necessary to have material wealth in order to obtain friendship? Did the Anglosaxon put a mercenary value on friendship, or is this indicative of an exchange of presents, as a pledge of friendship?

In the social life of the Anglosaxons woman seems to have had no part, indeed woman is in the poems before us almost entirely neglected. Helen is in actions and power manly and there is no allusion to her in any womanly capacity. A formula *werum ond wifum* E. 236 reveals the fact, that the women went along on these lengthy expeditions and A. 1041 reveals the presence of woman in the prison of St Matthew. The wives of the Mermaidians were baptized with their husbands. But nowhere is there a ray of womanly sentiment, no indications of the softer feelings of love, or womanly fidelity and apparently no germ of the chivalry of a later day.

There are in these two poems no allusion to the Anglosaxons as such. The Romans represents in Elene the people, with whom the poet sympathizes and the Huns, Goths and Franks brave people *hwate* E. 22 and ready for war *gearwe*



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tô gûðe E. 23 are the allied enemies of Constantine. It is thus the poets expands the term barbarians. The union of the Huns and Goths is found also in the Traveller's Song, but the Huns did not really appear until A. D. 375, after the time of this poem's contents. That the Franks should have been added was no doubt the result of some aversion to this people. The geographical allusions are vague and indefinite, we only know, that the paths by which the messengers came to announce the discovery of the cross are called east paths E. 255, 996, and of course the Danube gives as an idea of the scene of Constantine's engagement. The queen's journey from the harbour to Jerusalem was a triumphal procession through battle fields *herefe.das* E. 269, more probably a warrior's reference to land in general than indicative of actual hostilities.

The whole woof and web of the story is intermixed with Judaism. The poet seems to have found it difficult to comprehend the Jewish intolerance of Christ and hence puts in the mouth of Judas, a speech which for a Jew is inexplicable. Moses, David, Solomon, Esaias, are quoted, Saul, or Paul is declared to be an unsurpassed preacher E. 504 ff. Eusebius the bishop is mentioned.

Of particular interest however is the mention of the Trojans, showing that the story of Troy was known to the Anglo-saxons. It is true that the Latin version makes mention of it, but Cynewulf would hardly have retained it, had it been entirely unfamiliar to his audience.

In Andreas the Mermidonians are the people in the foreground, a people, who inhabited a city Mermidon on Myrmene, which was in the kingdom of the Egyptians A. 432. The description of them, as a race of cannibals differentiates them so entirely from the Anglosaxons, that one is surprised at the many agreements in customs.

That Judaism is traceable in the poem needs no mention and the references to Biblical characters such as Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Matthew &c. or to countries as Mamre contribute nothing to our purpose.

V I T A.

I, Charles William Kent, was born on the 27th of September 1860 in Louisa, Virginia, United States of America, and lived until my sixteenth year under the parental roof. In the fall of 1876 I entered Locust Dale Academy. To the revered late principal of this academy A. J. Gordon, whose untimely death was deeply deplored, I owe my first earnest attention to the importance of higher education. Under his guidance I paid special attention to Latin and Greek. In September 1878 I entered the University of Virginia and spent four years at that institution, procuring at the end of that period the degree of Master of Arts. In 1882 my friend, Lewis Minor Coleman, M.A., and I established a school in Charleston and after two years of arduous but pleasant duties, as a teacher I took up my studies again in Göttingen in the fall of 1884. During the Winter Semester I heard the lectures of Napier and Duhm, in the Summer those of Napier, Schultz, Reuter, Kluckhohn et al. The two following semesters I spent in Berlin, where I attended the lectures of Zupitz, Scherer, whose death left a vacancy in the ranks of philologists, Roediger, Hoffory and Strack. In October 1886, I entered the University of Leipzig and during my sojourn of nearly two semesters at this University I have had the pleasure of hearing Wölker, and his exercises in interpretation &c. I have also attended, Zarncke, Körting and Settegast.

It remaines for me to express my gratitude to all my honored teachers for their sympathy and encouragement, and to remember most gratefully the kindness shown me, particularly by Prof. Dr. Zupitz of Berlin and Prof. Dr. Wölker of Leipzig in aiding me with their highly appreciated advice and by directing in a measure my studies.
